

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

FILE NUMBER: 100-106670

MAIN FILE

SECTION: 70



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

MAIN FILE

100-106670

SECTION 70

FBI

Date: 4/26/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5586)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - CAPPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY RCADATE 12-14-79
Re Atlanta airtel and LHM 8/17/66 and airtel

4/5/67.

It is noted that an article captioned, "King Plans Fall Trip To Israel and Jordan" appearing 4/23/67 on page 4B of the final edition of the "Atlanta Journal and Constitution", Atlanta daily newspaper, reflects KING in November 1967 will make a "pilgrimage" to the Holy Land and address interfaith services in Israel and Jordan. The article attributed this information to an announcement released by an SCLC board member (not identified). It also pointed out KING has been invited to undertake this "pilgrimage" by "leaders of Israel and Jordan".

[REDACTED]

3- Bureau (RM)
1- Atlanta
AGS:bjh
(4)

REC-35

EX-113

100-106670-2929
1 APR 27 1967

62 MAY 4 1967

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

CLASS. & EXT. BY 9903 RDD/EM
REASON-FOUO 1. Per 4.2.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4-26-89

CONFIDENTIAL

F B I

Date: 6/13/67

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442525)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

~~SECRET~~
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *RLH*
DATE *12-14-79*

CARBON COPY

Re New York teletype, dated 6/12/67, reporting results of conference between MARTIN LUTHER KING and his advisors.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies of an LHM and two are enclosed for the Atlanta Office since it is origin in the KING and SCLC cases.

LHM. [REDACTED] was the source of the information in the

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- 4-Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
① - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
2-Atlanta (100-6670) (Encls. 2) (RM)
5-New York
(1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
(1 - 100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (43)
(1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL) (43)
(1 - 100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (43)

CLASS. & EXT. BY *4203 RDD/eam*
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW *6-15-87*

NOT RECORDED
191 JUN 17 1967

JMK:pam
(12)

ENCLOSURE

Classified by *609 LDB/gp*
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*

Date of Declassification Indefinite *12/5/79*

Approved:

54 JUN 23 1967

Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

June 13, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau 100-153735

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP (S) BY RtcDATE 12-14-79Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C~~SECRET~~~~SECRET~~

On June 12, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on that date, Martin Luther King, Jr. was in conference with Andrew Young, Executive Assistant to King, and Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel, New York advisors to King, concerning the United States Supreme Court's June 12, 1967 decision upholding King's conviction for contempt. This conviction stemmed from King's violation of an Alabama court order enjoining King and his followers from parading and demonstrating in Birmingham, Alabama, in the Spring of 1963.

Harry Wachtel viewed the upholding of the injunction as a crippling device to the whole non-violent movement and as a tool of repression against all mass demonstrations. Andrew Young viewed the five day jail sentence which King faces in Birmingham as inconsequential, but pointed out that many other contempt laws carry penalties up to six months. King was of the view that the upholding of the Court injunction is a great evil since many people are affected including King, himself, who has violated injunctions in Chicago, Illinois and Louisville, Kentucky, and faces contempt charges in those jurisdictions. Stanley Levison reminded King that in King's "Letter From Birmingham Jail", King stated that the non-violent protestor accepts his punishment, but was overruled on this point by Harry Wachtel. Levison then noted a parallel between the use of the injunction to inhibit the growth of unionism and the use of the injunction against the Civil Rights movement. CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803 RDD/ELM

REASON-FORM II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW 6-13-87

Classified by 686 RDD/HAPExempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

12/5/77~~SECRET~~~~SECRET~~~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-106670 -

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP (S) BY 686 RDD/HAP
DATE 12/3/77

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

Wachtel advised King to press for a re-argument of the case and King assented. It was felt by King that even if the motion was denied within the next week, it would still allow him to attend a Ministers' conference on June 26th and organize a program to protest his jailing. If the re-argument were granted, it might not be heard until the Fall of 1967, at which time the Court would be differently constituted. *P*

The question of King's statement on the decision was also discussed with Harry Wachtel suggesting that the three dissenting opinions, particularly the dissent of Chief Justice Earl Warren, be culled for the strongest arguments against the decision. Andrew Young felt that the statement should stress this was a severe setback for non-violence and an open invitation to violence by Negroes. It was decided that King make two statements; one immediately and one when the dissents had been studied. Wachtel suggested the first statement be general and refer to the damage it will do to the non-violent movement. The second statement will go into more detail, emphasizing the union parallel, the bad precedent which the decision sets, the aid it will be to racists and segregationists and the climate of despair and cynicism which will be generated in the Negro community setting the stage for violence and riots. *g*

~~SECRET~~

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b(1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NOT REC. 6/13/67 N.Y. airtel + l.h.m. pg. 3,

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~SECRET~~

Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York, New York. u

[REDACTED] b(1)
c

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto. u

[REDACTED] c

[REDACTED] b(1)
c

With respect to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, it is to be noted that this organization is an adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference - (SCLC), of which Martin Luther King, Jr. u is the president, and serves to raise funds for the SCLC.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following u concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, u March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, u originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook u for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

~~SECRET~~

4/26/67

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC ATLANTA
FROM DIRECTOR FBI

UNKNOWN SUBJECT THREAT TO KILL MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
APRIL TWENTY-SEVEN, NEXT, KENOSHA, WISCONSIN, INFORMATION CONCERNING.
BY TELETYPE DATED APRIL TWENTY-FIVE, LAST, MILWAUKEE ADVISED
FOLLOWING:

[REDACTED] "KENOSHA EVENING NEWS,"
ADVISED HE RECEIVED ANONYMOUS PHONE CALL ON APRIL TWENTY-FIVE, LAST,
WHICH IN SUBSTANCE WAS AS FOLLOWS:

"I KNOW THAT YOU ARE AWARE THAT DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING IS
COMING TO KENOSHA THIS THURSDAY NIGHT. HE WILL NOT LEAVE HERE. WE
ARE GOING TO BOMB THE PLACE." THIS IS NO JOKE AND I JUST THOUGHT
I'D TELL YOU." THE UNKNOWN CALLER THEN HUNG UP.
KING IS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR AT LOCAL KENOSHA HIGH SCHOOL ON
APRIL TWENTY-SEVEN, NEXT.

ATLANTA ADVISE ATLANTA POLICE DEPARTMENT CONCERNING THIS
THREAT.

NOTE:

By teletype dated 4/25/67, Milwaukee Office advised
Bureau of threat to kill King. Milwaukee failed to notify
Atlanta so that the Atlanta Police Department could be
notified. This fails to comply with existing Bureau rules
regarding threats against King. This communication
instructs Atlanta to notify Atlanta Police Department.
Milwaukee is being advised by separate communication to
comply with existing Bureau rules in the future. Teletype
necessary because of urgency of matter.

DHW: des dls
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-11-79 BY 2882/201/AM

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

56 MAY 21 1967

TELETYPE UNIT

F B I

Date: 4/27/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5586) P

SCHEDULED APPEARANCE OF
 DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING
 AT GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
 4/30/67
 RM

Re Columbia airtel and LHM to Bureau 4/25/67.

As of this date, Atlanta has no information concerning
 MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s itinerary for 4/30/67.

EX-112

REC 46 100-106670-2920

APR 28 1967

3- Bureau (RM)
 2- Columbia (157-1182) (AMSD) (RM)
 1- Atlanta
 AGS:bjh
 (6)

C. C. WICK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-11-79 BY 9803 RDD/edm

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

55 MAY 8 1967

FBI

Date: 4/25/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)
 FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5586)
 MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
 SM - C

ReAttel to Bureau 4/25/67 captioned, "CIRM".

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and seven copies, and for New York two, of LHM.

The statement referred to in the enclosed LHM was furnished to SA [REDACTED] 4/25/67.

b7(c)

EX-103

REC 20

100-106670-2919

10 APR 26 1967

ENCLOSURE

- 3- Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
 2- New York (100-136585) (ENC. 2) (RM)
 2- Atlanta
 (1 - 100-5586)
 (1 - 100-6670) (CIRM)

AGS:bjh

(7) AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI; SECURITY

DATE FORW: 4/27/67

HOW FORW: 11/5

BY: [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-11-79 BY 9803 RDD/eam

Approved: [Signature]
 55 MAY 3 1967 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
April 25, 1967

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

On April 25, 1967, [REDACTED] advised
Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern
Christian Leadership Conference, held a press conference
at 9:30 a.m., April 25, 1967, at the Ebenezer Baptist
Church, 413 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. On
this occasion, Reverend King furnished to reporters
of the press a prepared statement. [REDACTED]
furnished a copy of this statement which reads as follows:

b 7(D)

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DATE 12-11-79 BY 9803 RDD/eam

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your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

Statement by
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Atlanta, Georgia
Tuesday, April 25, 1967

On Saturday of last week there appeared an article in several prominent newspapers which reported on several groups and individuals urging that I become a candidate for the presidency of the United States in the 1968 elections. I must confess that I was quite surprised by these sentiments and find it very hard to take them seriously. I understand the stirrings across the country for a candidate who will take a firm principled stand on the question of the war in Viet Nam and the problems of the poor in urban ghettos, but I must also add that I have no interest in being that candidate. I have come to think of my role as one which operates outside the realm of partisan politics, raising the issues and through action create the situation which forces whatever party is in power to act creatively and constructively in response to the dramatic presentations of these issues on the public scene. I plan to continue that role in the hope that the war in Viet Nam be brought to a close long before the 1968 elections and that this present Congress find both the courage and the votes to once again move our nation toward a truly great society for every citizen.

It is understandable that this war is tending to create a fluid political situation. Should this fantastically unwise and futile war

continue to escalate toward World War III, and perhaps humanity's extermination, and should the campaign for racial equality be further starved, rebuked and forgotten, our country inevitably will be facing national disaster. Such circumstances may well cause profound and broad-based political re-alignments and make relevant an independent candidacy. But even so, I do not conceive of this as my role.

I reiterate, I have no interest in any political candidacy and I am issuing this statement to remove doubts of my position on this subject.

###

4/26/67
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- (Field Supervision)
1 - Mr. Wells (D.M.)

airtel

To: SAC, Milwaukee (157-112)
From: Director, FBI (100-106670)
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reurtel 4/25/67 and Bulet to all offices 4/19/65.

Milwaukee should review and comply with instructions set forth in above-referenced Bureau letter pertaining to threats made against Martin Luther King, Jr. Upon receipt of threats to the life of King, you should advise the Bureau and Atlanta by teletype. The failure to comply with existing Bureau instructions adds to the duplication of communications and the delay in proper handling of information.

Secure appropriate form error for responsible personnel.

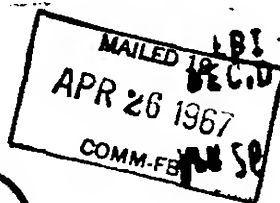
The Bureau has advised the Atlanta Office.

NOTE:

By teletype dated 4/25/67, Milwaukee Office advised Bureau of threat to kill King. Milwaukee failed to notify Atlanta so that the Atlanta Police Department could be notified, failing to comply with existing Bureau rules regarding threats against King. By separate communication, Atlanta has been instructed to advise Atlanta Police Department. Milwaukee instructed to comply with existing Bureau rules in the future.

DMW: dcm des
(5)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-1-79 BY 9703RAD/EM

56 MAY 3 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

APR 25 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

657PM URGENT 4/25/67 PJR

TO DIRECTOR (100-106670)

FROM MILWAUKEE (157-112) 1P

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. RM; BOMBING MATTERS - THREAT

KENOSHA EVENING b7(c)

NEWS, ADVISED TODAY THAT AT FOUR PM HE HAD RECEIVED AN
ANONYMOUS PHONE CALL WHICH IN SUBSTANCE WAS AS FOLLOWS:

"I KNOW THAT YOU ARE AWARE THAT DOCTOR MARTIN LUTHER
KING IS COMING TO KENOSHA THIS THURSDAY NIGHT. HE WILL NOT
LEAVE HERE. WE ARE GOING TO BOMB THE PLACE." THE ANONYMOUS
CALLER A MALE, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] STATED: THIS IS NO
JOKE AND I JUST THOUGHT I'D TELL YOU."

THE UNKNOWN CALLER THEN HUNG UP.

THIS INFORMATION HAS BEEN FURNISHED THE KENOSHA POLICE
DEPARTMENT, SECRET SERVICE, AND THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE
AGENCIES.

SUBJECT TO APPEAR FOUR TWENTYSEVEN NEXT AT EIGHT PM
AT ST. JOSEPHS HIGH SCHOOL, KENOSHA, WISCONSIN, UNDER SPONSOR-
SHIP OF UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN AT KENOSHA. SPEECH REPORTEDLY
TO BE ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

LHM FOLLOWS. UACB NO FURTHER ACTION TAKEN.

END

RCH

5 MAY 4 1967

FBI WASH DC MR. ROSEN

REC 11

100-106670-2917

FBI

APR 26 1967

12-11-79

9803 RDA/EBN

11:48 PM URGENT 4-19-67 TLS

APR 20 1967

TO DIRECTOR (157-NEW)

TELETYPE

FROM CHICAGO (157-NEW) (100-35356)

REVEREND HENRY MITCHELL PASTOR NORTH STAR MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH, THREATS OF BODILY HARM, RM. (157-NEW) 00: CHICAGO. MARTIN LUTHER KING. IS-C 00: ATLANTA.

REV. HENRY MITCHELL PASTOR NORTH STAR MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH ONE FOUR ONE FOUR S. HAMLIN, CG. CONDEMED MARTIN LUTHER KING TODAY AT CG. PRESS CONFERENCE DESCRIBING KING AS QUOTE AN OUTSIDER WHO DOESN'T KNOW THE PROBLEMS OF CHICAGO. I SUGGEST DR. KING GET THE HELL OUT OF HERE UNQUOTE. MITCHELL ASSERTED CIVIL RIGHTS MARCHES ARE DESTRUCTIVE AND PRECIPITATE INCREASED HATE. MITCHELL IS PRESIDENT OF NORTH STAR UNITED MISSIONARY WORKERS OF AMERICA AND DECLARED HIS MISSIONARY WORKERS ENCOURAGING LOW-INCOME AND RELIEF FAMILIES TO "TAKE IT EASY THIS SUMMER."

b7(P) [REDACTED] ADVISED INSTANT MITCHELL REVEALED TO CHICAGO P.D HAD RECEIVED TWO LOCAL TELEPHONE CALLS AFTER ABOVE PRESS CONFERENCE THREATING HIM WITH BODILY HARM IF HE PERSISTED IN CRITIZING KING. UNIDENTIFIED CALLERS OBJECTED TO MITCHELL'S STAND AGAINST KING. 157-100-106670.

b7(D) [REDACTED] NOT RECORDED 200 APR 25 1967
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY ADVISED. CG FOLLOWING. LHM
FOLLOWS. AM COPY TO ATLANTA.

END

PLAXX PLS CHECK LAST WRD IN LINE ELEVEN OK FINE HERE

JMS

FBI WASH DC

55 MAY 1 1967

11967

cc: CA BARNHART

Thermofax - KIVILKREHM

w let to 24 H. 5AG

"Selected Racial Developments"

ABK/BR

4/20/67

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick

DATE: 4/24/67

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

Holson _____
Loach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

PURPOSE:

Attached for your approval for dissemination is a letterhead memorandum containing the following: u

BACKGROUND:

[REDACTED] advised on 4/21/67 that Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in conference with his principal advisor and former long-time secret Communist Party member, Stanley Levison. They discussed King's political future. King commented about the articles appearing in newspapers speculating that his running for President of the United States in 1968 would take the Negro vote away from President Johnson. King mentioned that one of his aides was contacted on 4/20/67 and asked if King would meet with President Johnson, if he were invited. Levison replied that the peace demonstration held in New York City on 4/15/67 was so impressive, it forced the President to make this move. Levison urged King to let the President "sweat" over King's political position.

Levison then counseled King to issue a statement praising Cassius Clay, the well-known athlete, for his refusal to enter military service.

It is interesting to note that King made such a statement in the 4/24/67 edition of "The Washington Post and Times Herald." King also stated he would have an announcement within 24 hours as to his political plans.

OBSERVATIONS:

Since this information is of prime importance to the White House, it is deemed advisable to give it no additional dissemination.

Enclosure 4-24-67
100-106670
1 - 100-438794 (SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE)
DMW:des

CONTINUED - OVER

SECRET

56 MAY 17 1967

~~SECRET~~

C. D. Brennan to Sullivan Memorandum
RE:- MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached communication be forwarded by
routing slip to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House. *u*

*Smw
ptt
gt*

WV 92

L. P. H.

P

do

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4/DM*
ON *11-21-87*
6076

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

April 24, 1967

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past.

On April 21, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in conference with his principal advisor, Stanley Levison, concerning King's political aspirations. King commented about the articles appearing in newspapers which indicated he might be pushed into running for President of the United States in 1968 as a peace candidate. It was agreed that this action would take Negro votes from President Lyndon B. Johnson.

King mentioned that one of his aides was contacted on April 20, 1967, and asked if King would meet with President Johnson, if he were invited. Levison stated that the peace march in New York City on April 15, 1967, was so impressive, it was forcing the President to make this move. Levison urged King to let President Johnson "sweat" over King's political position.

The decision of Cassius Clay, heavyweight boxing champion of the world, not to enter military service was discussed. Levison urged King to issue a statement praising Clay for his actions.

It is interesting to note that the April 24, 1967, issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" carries a statement issued by King where he spoke out along the lines outlined for him by Levison. In this same article, King stated he would have an announcement within 24 hours as to his political plans.

~~SECRET~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

Classified by *6080 Lel/HP*
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite
10/5/97

ENCLOSURE

CLASS. & EXT. BY *9803 RDD/eam*
REASON FOR EXT. *1-2.4.2 2*
DATE OF REVIEW *4-24-87*

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY *SP4/DM*
REASON FOR EXT. *2*
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION *4-24-87*

6076

100-106670-2716

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b(1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-106670-2916 pg. 2 hld memo.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
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 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
 X FOR THIS PAGE X
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~SECRET~~
~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY *SP4 JRM/llh*
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION *4.24.82*
6076

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

April 24, 1967

all
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past. *u*

On April 21, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in conference with his principal advisor, Stanley Levison, concerning King's political aspirations. King commented about the articles appearing in newspapers which indicated he might be pushed into running for President of the United States in 1968 as a peace candidate. It was agreed that this action would take Negro votes from President Lyndon B. Johnson.

King mentioned that one of his aides was contacted on April 20, 1967, and asked if King would meet with President Johnson, if he were invited. Levison stated that the peace march in New York City on April 15, 1967, was so impressive, it was forcing the President to make this move. Levison urged King to let President Johnson "sweat" over King's political position. *l*

sum
The decision of Cassius Clay, heavyweight boxing champion of the world, not to enter military service was discussed. Levison urged King to issue a statement praising Clay for his actions.

Le B
It is interesting to note that the April 24, 1967, issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" carries a statement issued by King where he spoke out along the lines outlined for him by Levison. In this same article, King stated he would have an announcement within 24 hours as to his political plans. *9*

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Gale _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

100-106670

1 - 100-438794 (SCLC)

DHW:des

(7)

Delivered to Mildred Stegan
on *4/24/67*

CLASS. & EXT. BY *9825-2-100-106670*
REASON FOR EXTENSION *1-2.4.2*
DATE OF REVIEW *4-24-82*
TELETYPE UNIT *4/24/67*

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~~EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC~~
~~DECLASSIFICATION~~
18 APR 26 1967

Wc 7/
Classified by *6080 Lel/rop*
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite *12/5/77*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-438794-

~~SECRET~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

[REDACTED]

S b(1)

XERO COPY TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE.

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" inasmuch as source for the above information is a highly sensitive source relating to the racial situation. u

See memorandum C.D. Brennan to Sullivan 4/24/67, u.
captioned as above, prepared by DMW:des.

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date:

4/24/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5586)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - CReBuairtel to Atlanta captioned, "COMINFIL,
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), IS - C"
4/21/67.Re airtel suggests Atlanta make discreet inquiry
concerning KING's recent confinement in hospital.

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4JMM/uk
 REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
 FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
 DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 4-24-87
6076

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 4-24-87 BY 6076

REC 32

3- Bureau (RM)

2- Atlanta

(1 - 100-5586)

(1 - 100-8718)

AGS:bjh

(5)

EX-113

100-106670-2914

APR 25 1967

54 MAY 1 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Approved: JvH

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

INT. SEC.

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED
EXTENDED
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

April 21, 1967

REC-39

100-106670-2913

EX-103

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past.

On April 19, 1967, Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel were in conference concerning the political future of Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Wachtel advised he had learned that the Women Strike for Peace group, a pacifist group, was meeting on April 19, 1967, to prepare a pamphlet announcing that King would run for President of the United States in 1968. His vice-presidential candidate would be Dr. Benjamin Speck.

Wachtel was under the impression King had agreed to run and that there would be a meeting the weekend of April 22, 1967, to formulate plans for the campaign.

Levison denied that King had agreed to run but stated that Dr. Speck wants this plan to materialize. Levison also advised Wachtel that King recently told Norman Thomas, perennial candidate for President on the Socialist Party Ticket, he would not run for President. Levison admitted there will be a meeting on April 22, 1967, but it will be to discuss the peace issue.

Both Levison and Wachtel concurred that King should not agree to run at this time.

Information has also been received indicating that William S. Stein, Southern Christian Leadership Conference fund raiser, has contacted a radio station in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to donate free time each Sunday

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100-106670

1 - 100-438794 (SCLC)

BNW:dam

(11)

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~SECRET~~

54 MAY 1 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Classified by 6056
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 1/3/5/77

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2000
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4.21.87

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

100-438794-

~~SECRET~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

to Martin Luther King, Jr. Stein requested the radio station, which is Negro oriented in its programming, to donate this one-half hour to play tapes of sermons and speeches by King. Stein advised he would then sell the show to sponsors and all the money would go to King's organization. U

Stein is attempting to set up a nationwide network for King and advised radio station officials he will contact selected radio stations in Baltimore, New York, Chicago, Memphis, and Washington, D. C. U

Radio Station WHAS, Philadelphia, started carrying the King program at 4:30 p.m., on April 18, 1967. U

[REDACTED] S b(1)

Harry Vachtel is a former member of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization which has been designated as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives. Vachtel is a partner in the law firm of Rubin, Vachtel, Baum, and Levine, 555 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. U

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; U
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL; AND ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL DOAR & YEAGLEY.

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" inasmuch as source for the above information is a highly sensitive source relating to the racial situation.

See memorandum C.B. Brennan to Sullivan, 4/20/67 captioned as above, prepared by BHW:des.

~~SECRET~~

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

TO : Mr. Sullivan

DATE: 4/20/67

FROM : C. D. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JMM/UC

ON 1-21-81

8076

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a letterhead memorandum containing the following:

b(2) b(7C) [redacted] advised on 4/19/67 that Harry Wachtel and Stanley Levison were in conference that date concerning the political future of Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Both men are principal advisors to King and have subversive backgrounds. Levison is a former long-time secret Communist Party member. They discussed the current move by the Women Strike for Peace, a pacifist group, to get King to run for President of the United States in 1968 with Dr. Benjamin Spock as his vice-presidential candidate. Levison advised that King had recently told Norman Thomas, perennial candidate for President on the Socialist Party ticket that he would not run for President.

Levison and Wachtel both agreed it was too early for King to make a decision in this regard. Levison advised that King and Spock will meet in Boston on April 22, 1967, purportedly to discuss peace issues.

Information has been received indicating a Southern Christian Leadership Conference fund raiser is attempting to set up a nationwide radio station network that will play King's speeches and sermons one-half hour every Sunday. The proceeds from the commercials on the program will go to King's group. One Philadelphia station has agreed to this and aired King's one-half program at 4:30 p.m., on 4/16/67.

Efforts are being made to do the same with radio stations in the following cities: Baltimore, New York, Chicago, Memphis, and Washington, D. C.

Encl. - 4-21-67 com
100-106670
1 - 100-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)
DMV: des [redacted]

CONTINUED - OVER

APR 25 1967

Classified by 6080 LAD/MP
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 12/5/77

EX-103

~~SECRET~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY 9802 RDD/eam
REASON FOR EXT. 2422
DATE OF EXT. 4-20-87

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum C.D. Brennan to Sullivan
Re:— MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

RECOMMENDATION:

That copies of the enclosure be forwarded by
routing slips to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House;
The Attorney General; and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley *u*
and Doar.

DMW
pts

dh

dh

Wags

P

✓

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED
REASON FOR
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION

SECRET

1 - DeLoach
1 - Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Shackelford
1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

REC-4

April 14, 1967

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past.

On April 13, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with his top advisor, Stanley Levison. King informed Levison he had been in contact with Dr. Ralph Bunche concerning Bunche's criticism of King. According to King, Bunche stated, "Martin, I want you to know I agree with everything you are saying about Vietnam. I am absolutely opposed to the Government's policy." Bunche agreed to meet with King and Dr. Benjamin Spock following the peace demonstration at the United Nations on April 15, 1967.

According to a news release dated April 13, 1967, Bunche took note of Dr. King's denial of intention to join the civil rights movement with the peace movement. Bunche stated publicly that this "takes care of the issue to which my critical statement had been directed."

Levison then advised King of the progress he was making writing King's speech to be delivered at the peace rally at the United Nations on April 15, 1967. King enthusiastically accepted excerpts that Levison read to him. King particularly liked the part indicating that the United States should unilaterally withdraw from Vietnam. King also liked the part where he will appeal to the country to "demand insistently that our Government honor Hanoi's promise to negotiate if bombings cease."

In a discussion as to how to get Negroes to support King's stand on Vietnam, it was suggested having radio spot announcements. Levison cautioned against having radio spot announcements programmed to Negroes because most Negroes do not want to become identified with this peace demonstration.

DMW:amk

SECRET

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

100-106670

1-4 100-438794

(Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

REASON

DATE OF REVIEW

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DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

55 MAY 1967

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-438794

~~SECRET~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

King and Levison were joined in their conference by Harry Wachtel, a New York attorney; Harry Belafonte, a nationally known singer; and Andrew Young, Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. This group discussed King's speech to be delivered at the peace demonstration on April 15, 1967. They discussed ways in which additional support can be obtained concerning King's views on Vietnam. It was agreed that newspaper advertisements should be run as well as radio spot announcements purchased in an effort to gain support for King's anti-Vietnam position. King advised that he would appear on the National Broadcasting Company's nationwide program entitled "Face the Nation" on April 16, 1967. S

[REDACTED]

S
b(1)

[REDACTED]

S

The Young Communist League has been designated by the United States Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. u

Harry Wachtel is a former member of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization which has been designated as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives. Wachtel is a partner in the law firm of Rubin, Wachtel, Baum, and Levine, 508 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. u

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

XEROX COPIES BEING SENT TO MRS. MILDRED STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; THE SECRETARY OF STATE; THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; THE ATTORNEY GENERAL; AND ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY AND DOAR. *u*

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" inasmuch as source for the above information is a highly sensitive source relating to the racial situation. *u*

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan, 4/14/67, captioned as above, prepared by DMW:dsm. *u*

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick

DATE: April 14, 1967

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Shackelford
1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

Tolson _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DECLASSIFIED BY *AP 1/10/86*
ON *3-12-81*

Attached for approval for dissemination are copies of a letterhead memorandum containing the following:

b(2) b(7)(D) [redacted] advised on April 13, 1967, that Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with his top advisor, Stanley Levison, a former long-time secret Communist Party member. King advised Levison he had been in contact with Dr. Ralph Bunche concerning Bunche's criticism of King's stand on Vietnam. Bunche stated "I am absolutely opposed to our policy." Bunche agreed with King concerning King's stand on Vietnam. Bunche also agreed to meet with King and Dr. Benjamin Spock following the peace demonstration on April 15, 1967, at the United Nations.

Levison advised King of the progress he was making writing King's speech to be delivered on April 15, 1967, at the peace rally to be held at the United Nations. King enthusiastically accepted excerpts from the speech that Levison read to him. King particularly liked the part urging the United States to unilaterally withdraw from Vietnam and demand that our Government stop bombing North Vietnam.

When discussing how to gain support from Negroes concerning King's stand on Vietnam, Levison cautioned against radio spot announcements directed toward the Negro because most Negroes do not want to become identified with this peace demonstration. King and Levison were joined in their conference by Harry Wachtel, a New York attorney, Harry Belafonte, a nationally-known singer, and Andrew Young, Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. This group discussed King's speech to be delivered at the peace rally on April 15, 1967. They agreed that newspaper ads and radio announcements should be run to gain support for King's stand concerning Vietnam.

Enclosures *1*
100-106870
1 - 100-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

DMW:dsu
(8)

Classified by *6080 P/M/TAP*
Exempt from GDS, Category *0*

~~SECRET~~

CONTINUED OVER *(15/17)*

FILED IN COPY

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.

The attacks on King were discussed and Wachtel advised that this criticism is an effort to get King. Wachtel stated that King's enemies may try to bring out the "old stuff" the FBI has concerning him. *S*

RECOMMENDATION:

That the copies of the enclosures be forwarded by routing slips to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House; the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; the Honorable Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense; the Attorney General; and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Doar. *u*

ad omel JH
WCP
P
Jo
✓

~~SECRET~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

SECRET
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY *SP4 JRM/K*
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2.....*2*.....April 14, 1967
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION.....*4-14-82*.....
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

6076

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past. *u*

On April 13, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with his top advisor, Stanley Levison. King informed Levison he had been in contact with Dr. Ralph Bunche concerning Bunche's criticism of King. According to King, Bunche stated, "Martin, I want you to know I agree with everything you are saying about Vietnam. I am absolutely opposed to the Government's policy." Bunche agreed to meet with King and Dr. Benjamin Spock following the peace demonstration at the United Nations on April 15, 1967. *8*

According to a news release dated April 13, 1967, Bunche took note of Dr. King's denial of intention to join the civil rights movement with the peace movement. Bunche stated publicly that this "takes care of the issue to which my critical statement had been directed." *u*

Levison then advised King of the progress he was making writing King's speech to be delivered at the peace rally at the United Nations on April 15, 1967. King enthusiastically accepted excerpts that Levison read to him. King particularly liked the part indicating that the United States should unilaterally withdraw from Vietnam. King also liked the part where he will appeal to the country to "demand insistently that our Government honor Hanoi's promise to negotiate if bombings cease." *8*

In a discussion as to how to get Negroes to support King's stand on Vietnam, it was suggested having radio spot announcements. Levison cautioned against having radio spot announcements programmed to Negroes because most Negroes do not want to become identified with this peace demonstration. *8*

SECRET

~~GROUP 1~~

Encl.
~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

Classified by *6080 Spd/MP*
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite
12/5/72

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *12/5/72* BY *SP4 JRM/K*

~~SECRET~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

King and Levison were joined in their conference by Harry Wachtel, a New York attorney; Harry Belafonte, a nationally known singer; and Andrew Young, Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. This group discussed King's speech to be delivered at the peace demonstration on April 15, 1967. They discussed ways in which additional support can be obtained concerning King's views on Vietnam. It was agreed that newspaper advertisements should be run as well as radio spot announcements purchased in an effort to gain support for King's anti-Vietnam position. King advised that he would appear on the National Broadcasting Company's nationwide program entitled "Face the Nation" on April 16, 1967.

[REDACTED] S

[REDACTED] S

b(1)

The Young Communist League has been designated by the United States Attorney General pursuant to U Executive Order 10450.

Harry Wachtel is a former member of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization which has been designated as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives. Wachtel is a partner in the law firm of Rubin, Wachtel, Baum, and Levine, 598 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. a

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 4/20/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: Reverend HENRY MITCHELL,
Pastor, North Star
Missionary Baptist Church,
Chicago, Illinois,
Threats of Bodily Harm
RACIAL MATTERS
(OO: Chicago) (157-1869) (P)

MARTIN LUTHER KING
RACIAL MATTERS
(OO: Atlanta) (100-35356) (P)
(Bufile 100-106670)

Re Chicago teletype dated 4/19/67, captioned
as above; and Chicago teletype dated 1/13/67, captioned
"Demonstration by North Star United Missionary Workers
of America, Chicago, Illinois, 1/13/67, RACIAL MATTER."

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an
LHM dated and captioned as above. One copy of the LHM
is being furnished to USA, Chicago.

The source utilized in the LHM is _____

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (157-5586 (MARTIN LUTHER KING))
(1 - 157-5718 (SCLC))
- 6 - Chicago
(1 - 100-35356)
(1 - 157-413)
(1 - 105-16238 (SCLC))
(1 - 100-40340)
(1 - 100-40578)

JAM:ljs
(11)

NOT RECORDED

155 APR 26 1967

57 MAY 2 1967

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-9-4244

b7(D)

157-6-9-

15 APR 22 1967

UNCLASSIFIED

SUBV CONTROL
PINTY SEC

CG 157-1869
CG 100-35356

Chicago Indices contain no derogatory or subversive activities concerning Reverend HENRY MITCHELL or the North Star United Missionary Workers of America, although Chicago dead files 100-10340 and 100-10578 have been opened to file information previously received concerning MITCHELL and this organization.

Chicago will continue to follow this matter and report any pertinent activity.

Character for KING is carried as RM since information reported more aptly fits that character.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
April 20, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-1869
100-35356

REVEREND HENRY MITCHELL,
PASTOR, NORTH STAR
MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
THREATS OF BODILY HARM,
RACIAL MATTERS

MARTIN LUTHER KING
RACIAL MATTERS

On April 19, 1967, Reverend Henry Mitchell, pastor of the North Star Missionary Baptist Church, 1414 South Hamlin, Chicago, Illinois, condemned Reverend Martin Luther King today at a Chicago press conference, describing King as "an outsider who does not know the problems of Chicago. I suggest Dr. King get the hell out of here." Reverend Mitchell asserted that civil rights marches are destructive and precipitate increased hate. Reverend Mitchell is the president of the North Star United Missionary Workers of America and declared his missionary workers are encouraging low income and relief families to "take it easy this summer".

On April 19, 1967, a source advised that Reverend Mitchell revealed to the Chicago Police Department that he had received two local telephone calls after the above press conference threatening him with bodily harm if he persisted in criticizing King. The unidentified callers objected to Mitchell's stand against King.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNCLASSIFIED
11-27-79 5180 KCB/SPM

100-106670-
ENCLOSURE

REVEREND HENRY MITCHELL,
PASTOR, NORTH STAR
MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
THREATS OF BODILY HARM.

MARTIN LUTHER KING

[REDACTED]

b7(D)

The foregoing information was furnished to
the following individuals on April 19, 1967:

[REDACTED]
Region 1, 113th MI Group
Evanston, Illinois

b7(c)

[REDACTED]
United States Secret Service ,
Chicago, Illinois

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished
to the United States Attorney's Office, Chicago, Illinois.

The Chicago Sun-Times, Four-Star Final, dated
April 20, 1967, contained an article entitled, "Negro
Pastor Rips Rights Marchers". This article states in
part the following:

A Negro pastor, who once led "hunger marches"
of relief recipients, condemned civil rights marches
Wednesday and pledged to work against them. He is the
Reverend Henry Mitchell, pastor of North Star Missionary
Baptist Church, 1414 South Hamlin, who asserted:

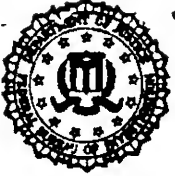
"Last years marches precipitated increased
hate. All doors now seem to be shut in our children's
faces."

REVEREND HENRY MITCHELL,
PASTOR, NORTH STAR
MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
THREATS OF BODILY HARM

MARTIN LUTHER KING

Reverend Mitchell singled out Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as "an outsider who does not know the problems of Chicago".

Al Raby, convenor of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations and a King aid, replied to the criticism, "I believe that Reverend Mr. Mitchell is a black Anglo-Saxon puppet of Mayor Daley and is merely a part of Daley's campaign to try to intimidate and to create a facade that the (civil rights) movement does not have the support of the Negro community."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
April 20, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 157-1869
100-35356

Title	REVEREND HENRY MITCHELL, PASTOR, NORTH STAR MISSIONARY CHURCH, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, THREATS OF BODILY HARM; MARTIN LUTHER KING
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Reference is made to memorandum dated and captioned above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

The source is an agency which conducts security and background type investigations in the Chicago area.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET23

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b (1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
April 20, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.
Bureau 100-442529

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *Pte*
DATE *12-14-79*

Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 19, 1967, that Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel were in contact on that date. Their contact was arranged by Wachtel so that he could ascertain from Levison if Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), had agreed to run for President of the United States.

Wachtel had learned that the Women Strike for Peace group was to meet on April 19, 1967, for the purpose of preparing a pamphlet announcing a ticket with Martin Luther King for President and Dr. Benjamin Spock for Vice President of the United States. Wachtel had received information that Dr. Spock related it following a meeting on Saturday, April 15, 1967, and added that a meeting would be held this weekend to formulate plans for the campaign.

Levison denied that such a plan was decided upon at Saturday's meeting, but admitted that Spock wanted a ticket of King and himself. Levison was so sure that nothing happened at the Saturday affair that he told Wachtel that he did not leave King's side during the meeting and even accompanied King to his hotel following the meeting.

It was agreed to by Wachtel and Levison that King should not agree at this time to make a run for the Presidency. Levison mentioned that King told Norman Thomas recently that he would not run.

According to the source, a meeting will be held this weekend in Boston, Massachusetts, by representatives of peace groups. Included in those who are scheduled to attend are King and Spock. Levison is not planning to be in attendance.

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DATE *12/5/77*

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Communist Influence in Racial Matters

At the present time, King is in an Atlanta, Georgia hospital, having entered on the night of April 18, 1967. The source did not know the nature of his illness. The source did learn, however, that King plans to be out of the hospital by Friday, April 21, 1967, in order to go to Providence, Rhode Island that night.

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~~SECRET~~

Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York, New York. u

[REDACTED] c

b(1)

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto. u

[REDACTED] c

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With respect to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, it is to be noted that this organization is an adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which Martin Luther King, Jr. u is the president, and serves to raise funds for the SCLC.

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following u concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, u March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front, which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, u originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)" u

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Date: 4/19/67

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Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
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(OO: NEW YORK)

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DATE

Enclosed are ten copies of an LHM reporting information from [REDACTED], a source close to STANLEY LEVISON. Three copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office.

[REDACTED]

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- Atlanta (100-6670) (Encls. 3) (RM)
- 1 - 100-5586 (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- 1 - 100-6812 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
- New York
- 1 - 100-111180 (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
- 1 - 100-136585 (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (43)
- 1 - 100-153751 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (43)
- 1 - 100-149194 (COMINFIL SCLC) (43)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
April 19, 1967

Bureau 100-442529

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
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DATE 12-14-79

Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

On April 17, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information:

Stanley Levison and Gloria Cantor, the secretary to Harry Belafonte, the well known entertainer, were in contact on that date concerning an affair which took place on Saturday afternoon, April 15, 1967, following the demonstration at the United Nations protesting the war in Vietnam. The affair, which was held at Belafonte's house, was attended by Cantor, Levison, Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and others.

It was Levison's opinion, in summing up the results of the discussion which took place at the affair, that progress was made since it was agreed not to argue and criticize each other (Carmichael and King) on matters not agreed to, but instead, to cooperate on common goals. Levison was of the opinion that Carmichael made a conscious effort to be cooperative.

Cantor did not agree with Levison's statement that Carmichael was cooperative, commenting that he was talking down to King. She does not trust Carmichael; neither does Levison. However, Levison feels differently toward him because he (Carmichael) knows that the kind of program he wants to advance is impossible for him with or without King. What Carmichael contends, according to Levison, is that there can be no advances made in civil rights unless Negroes form an armed resistance group, and resist the draft and resort to violence. This is hopeless and stupid in Levison's eyes; Carmichael wanted to open a program of cooperation with King

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Communist Influence in Racial Matters

so that he could tour the country with King. It was Levison's conclusion that he just wanted to be with King so that he could draw an audience.

Cantor, according to the source, can be described as a hero worshipper of Martin Luther King, but recently she has formed some reservations in her own mind about some of his actions. In explaining, Cantor was disappointed to see King let Belafonte "push" him into an embarrassing situation during their discussion with Carmichael and other representatives of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Cantor was very sorry to see Belafonte side with SNCC rather than with King. It is her feeling that due to Belafonte's pressure on him, King is beginning to think like SNCC.

Cantor then revealed to Levison that she was upset to see that Belafonte could lead King. She opined that this may be due to King's indebtedness to Belafonte, since Belafonte continues to pay for "his nurse" (King's). Levison acknowledged that he knew about it, but felt it was due to the fact that King has a constant struggle with expenses.

Levison tried to console Cantor by telling her that King would never think and act like SNCC. He went even further and disclosed that King had told him that Belafonte was drawn to SNCC emotionally, but he (Belafonte) trusted King integrity much more than he did of SNCC. Levison revealed that other discussions between King and Carmichael would take place thereby affording an opportunity to test the sincerity of both Carmichael and Belafonte.

It was Levison's belief that the trouble in the civil rights movement is due to the feelings of the radicals that King has to be a conservative and that Carmichael has to be a radical. Levison opined that Carmichael would eventually end up in defeat since he has no program to speak of and what he has, is an unsound one. In elaborating, Levison felt that one does not call for insurrection in a place where you are outnumbered and outgunned.

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Communist Influence in Racial Matters

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Via AIRTEL

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
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(OO: NEW YORK)

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DATE OF REVIEW *12-10-79*
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 - 1-San Francisco (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM)
 - 1-Washington Field (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM)
 - 3-New York
 - (1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON)
 - (1 - 100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)

JMK:pam
(16)

AGENCY: ACC. ONI, OSI, S&P, CRD, RAD

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62 APR 25 1967

Approved: *JMK*

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Special Agent in Charge 100-442529-5015

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
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New York, New York
April 18, 1967

Bureau 100-442529

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Communist Infiltration in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *etc*
DATE *12-14-79*

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 16, 1967, that information had come to his attention which disclosed that Stanley Levison was in contact with an unknown female on that date. His contact was in regard to Martin Luther King's appearance before "Face the Nation" earlier in the afternoon.

According to the information the source was able to ascertain, the female wanted to know if Levison had witnessed King's appearance before the panel. Levison, in commenting that he had not, acknowledged, however, that he had met with King on Saturday night and had advised King how to answer the questions which would be put to him on the show.

The unknown female, in commenting on the march which took place in New York City on Saturday afternoon, April 15, 1967, said Stokely Carmichael (the Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)) and other youth who spoke at the United Nations, gave her the impression that they were going to have a "nationwide reach into the young people all over the country" and it seemed to her that "these" organizations (SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)) ought to be ready to suggest to King that a coalition be agreed to between their organizations (SNCC and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)). It was her contention that a coalition could be worked out if hundreds of workshops could be started by people from SNCC and the SCLC.

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REASON FOR EXTENSION
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Communist Infiltration in Racial Matters

Levison commented that after a meeting on Saturday, April 15, 1967, between King, himself and individuals who represented organizations less prone to non-violence (SNCC) and (CORE), it was decided that efforts would be made to persuade all organizations to adopt the non-violent philosophy. Consequently, according to Levison, there would be a coalition on specific issues.

With regard to King's appearance before "Face the Nation", a Columbia Broadcasting System program, Sunday, April 16, 1967, "The New York Times", Monday, April 17, 1967, page 1, reported on Martin Luther King's appearance on that show, and his remarks during an impromptu news conference. During his appearance on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) show, King declared that he was philosophically opposed to Communism. u

He said: "I think it is based on a metaphysical materialism, at points an ethical relativism, a crippling totalitarianism in many instances and a denial of human freedom that I would not prefer." u

King, according to the article, also disassociated the sponsors of the anti-war demonstration from the burning of draft cards and an American flag. u

During his impromptu news conference, King warned that at least 10 cities across the country, including New York, "could explode in racial violence this summer". u

Describing the cities as "powder kegs", King said "the nation has not done anything to improve conditions in these areas". u

Included among the cities were Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland, California, Washington, Newark and New York. He said there were other cities, which he did not name, in the South. u

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Wick *Wick*

FROM : M. A. Jones *M. A. Jones*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING
APPEARANCE ON "FACE THE NATION"
4-16-67
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: 4-17-67

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Martin Luther King's appearance on the CBS television program "Face the Nation" was televised 4-16-67.

During the program, which lasted approximately 30 minutes, King made no reference to the Director or the FBI.

In the main, the questions and comments by King concerned the so-called "peace movement," which received nationwide attention the day before.

In connection with this "peace movement," King stated that his recent activities in this direction were not an attempt to "fuse" or "merge" this movement with the civil rights movement from an organizational point of view. He did feel that the "ferver" of the civil rights movement should be "imbued" in the peace movement.

King basically felt that the United States should take the following steps in connection with the Vietnam war: 1. Take the initiative on halting hostilities; 2. Immediately cease fire unilaterally; 3. Halt military build-up in Southeastern Asia; 4. Allow the National Liberation Front to have a voice in the government of South Vietnam.

In connection with the peace movement demonstrations, King stated that he does "not advocate, at this time, civil disobedience." He denied that any responsible leaders of the peace demonstrations the day before had anything to do with the draft card burnings and any burning of the American flag. King stated that he is urging young men to "study" their right to assume a conscientious objector status in connection with their selective service obligations. King further stated that if he were in their place, he would be a conscientious objector.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick

55 APR 26 1967
TDH:roc
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-10-79 BY 9802 RAN/eam

CONTINUED OVER

18 APR 24 1967

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M. A. Jones to Wick Memo
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING

King also described America as having a "paranoid fear" of communism. King also denied any real split in the civil rights movement and attributed any differences to "healthy debates." King stated that the loss of impetus in the civil rights movement, has resulted from the Vietnam war diverting attention from the civil rights movement. It was King's contention that the Vietnam war has "strengthened the forces of reaction."

In reference to the recent unseating of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, King claimed that racism was basically behind the treatment given Powell by his fellow Congressmen.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Wick ✓ Jo
D

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Sullivan *MS*

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
DATE: 4/18/67
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

Attached for your approval is a letter to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House.

As you recall, on April 10, 1967, we furnished the White House with a 15-page document which was a scathing indictment of Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, clearly showing the communist influence he is operating under. That same day, the President left the United States for the Latin-American Conference. It is felt that perhaps with the press of business at that time, the President did not have the opportunity to read this document which depicted King as an instrument of subversive influences.

Attached is a letter to the White House enclosing a copy of King's most recent speech which he delivered on April 15, 1967, at a massive anti-war rally in New York City. This letter also summarizes the information contained in the 15-page document in an effort to get the President to read this document.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter and enclosure be forwarded to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House.

REC-27

6 APR 21 1967

100-106670

1 - 105-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

Enclosure *sent 4/18/67*

DMW:dea

(6)

54 APR 26 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-10-79 BY 9803 R2 DDT/COM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE *4-18-67*

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

*Martin Luther King**B
6-*

Page A1825. Congressman Younger, (R) California, extended his remarks to include an article from the Washington Star of April 14th entitled "King Stand on War Holds Element of Tragedy" written by Carl T. Rowan. The article states "Key members of the House and Senate have been told by the FBI that King is listening most to one man who is clearly more interested in embarrassing the United States than in the plight of either the Negro or the war-weary people of Vietnam."

Original filed in: *66-1731-30160*

100-106670
NOT RECORDED
170 APR 28 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *12-10-79* BY *9803 RDD/EM*
orig destroyed

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

54 MAY 2 1967

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b(1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

N.R. 4/17/67 Boston Airtel

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
 X FOR THIS PAGE X
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☒
Wick ☒
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Gale

DATE: 4/16/67

FROM : W. V. Cleveland

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Captioned individual telephonically spoke with Extra Duty Supervisor [REDACTED], Special Investigative Division, at 1:10 a.m. He prefaced his remarks with the statement that he was "not drunk or some nut," but that he was watching television and observed Stokely Carmichael and Dr. Martin Luther King" advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S." [REDACTED] said he wanted it made a matter of record that he protests that the Government should do something to "muzzle these bastards." He stated he is 62 years of age and is returning to Vietnam tomorrow.

[REDACTED] He concluded by stating he is going to inform [REDACTED] about his [REDACTED] concern re statements made by "Carmichael and King" on television.

Bureau files contain no identifiable record concerning [REDACTED] based on information available.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Cleveland
- 1 - Mr. Steel

GRS:jmm
(5)

100-106670-
NOT RECORDED
184 APR 21 1967

54 APR 20 1967

54 APR 26 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446000-170

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-81 BY SP4 JMM/ML

Date 4/15/67

To:

☒ Director RM

FILE

~~62-111181~~

Att.:

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

Title

SPRING MOBILIZATION COM-
MITTEE TO END WAR IN
VIETNAM; INF. CON. (IS)
(NY 100-158917)

DEMONSTRATION AT NYC
4/15/67

RE:

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Return serials

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send Serials

to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Attached is one copy of speech pre-release
made to NYC press-of speech given by Martin
Luther King 4/15/67. Speech generally followed
attached copy.

ENCLOSURE

TJC 42

See reverse side

SAC

JOHN F. MALONE

NYO

Office

84

b7(E)

An Address by
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
April 15 Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam
New York City
Saturday, April 15, 1967

I come to participate in this significant demonstration today because my conscience leaves me no other choice. I join you in this mobilization because I cannot be a silent onlooker while evil rages. I am here because I agree with Dante, that: "The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality." In these days of emotional tension, when the problems of the world are gigantic in extent and chaotic in detail, there is no greater need than for sober thinking, mature judgment, and creative dissent.

In all our history there has never been such a monumental dissent during a war by the American people. Polls reveal more than ten million explicitly oppose the war. Additional millions cannot bring themselves to support it, and millions who do assent to it are half-hearted, confused and doubt-ridden.

Tens of thousands of our deepest thinkers in the academic and intellectual community are adamantly opposed to the war; distinguished church and theological leaders of every race and religion

are morally outraged by it; and many young people in all walks of life believe it a corruption of every American value they have been taught to respect. Let no one claim there is a consensus for this war --- no flag waving, no smug satisfaction with territorial conquest, no denunciation of the enemy can obscure the truth that many millions of patriotic Americans repudiate this war and refuse to take moral responsibility for it. Nor can the fact be obscured that our nation is increasingly becoming an object of scorn around the globe. The respect we won when our course was right is rapidly being lost as even our closest allies leave our side embarrassed with our pretense that we are bearers of a moral crusade.

The physical tolls of this bloody, costly and futile war literally stagger the imagination. We see the nightmare in our living rooms in all their tragic dimensions on television screens. We see the rice fields of a small Asian country trampled at will and burned at whim. We see grief-stricken mothers with crying babies clutched in their arms as they watch their little huts burst into flames; we see fields and valleys of battle painted with mankind's blood; and the ultimate horror is that we see little children mutilated and incinerated with napalm.

Even closer to us in our own neighborhoods and in our own families we learn of American youth destroyed and maimed in savage combat. American mothers and fathers are given coffins and

medals, crippled sons and pious praise. And yet, many of them are bold enough to declare their sacrifice has no meaning. They have suffered the ultimate loss and from it feel a sense of no gain. There is a quiet terror in the home of every draft-eligible boy as families contemplate possible death that waits in jungle depths for our sons and husbands.

The American people have freely given their lives in many struggles where genuine American interests were threatened. In its deepest sense the immorality of this war lies in the tragic fact that no vital American interest is in peril or in jeopardy. We are waging war in a contest that is fully capable of resolution by peaceful means. American and Vietnamese lives are being snuffed out in terrifying and unspeakable combat when issues can be settled by political methods.

I express here not merely my own opinion, but many of the thoughts of some of our nation's foremost statesmen, leading newspapers, outstanding historians, and political scientists. This judgment is shared by heads of nations who have been our allies in peace and war; by the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, by Pope Paul and countless eminent world figures. This war cries out to be brought to an end. Yet we are told it must be continued because in some mysterious manner if we make a move toward peace without significant concessions from Hanoi, a catastrophic world defeat awaits us.

There is not a shred of substance in this argument. The power we possess is titanic. It can neither be lost nor diminished by unilateral initiatives for peace on our part. It is hard to believe, in the words of U Thant, "That the United States, with power and wealth unprecedented in human history cannot afford to take this initiative."

We took the initiative to enlarge the war on land, on the sea, and in the air. We are strong enough to take the initiative to end it.

I am not absolving Hanoi nor the Viet Cong of their responsibilities, nor do I condone certain rigid attitudes. I am not naive enough, however, to think that they will come to a conference table while clouds of bombs are driving them into bomb shelters. As an American my duty is to speak to my government. Even if my philosophy is not welcomed in another country, I must constantly strive to make it welcomed in Washington.

Recently one of the great Buddhist leaders of Vietnam wrote these words: "Each day the war goes on the hatred increases in the hearts of the Vietnamese and in the hearts of those of humanitarian instincts. The Americans are forcing even their friends into becoming their enemies. It is curious the the Americans, who calculate so carefully on the possibility of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat. The image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism."

Whether we realize it or not, our attitude toward a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam places us in the position of obstructing the principles of self-determination. By entering a war that is little more than a domestic civil war, America has ended up supporting a new form of colonialism covered up by certain niceties of complexity.

A brief look at the background and history of this war reveals with brutal clarity the ugliness of our policy. It is a well-known fact that we participated in sabotaging the Geneva agreement calling for elections in South Vietnam and providing that the 17th parallel was but a temporary military line. We helped install Premier Diem and watched with approval as he engaged in ruthless and bloody persecution of all opposition forces. After Diem's death, we actively supported another dozen military dictatorships, all in the name of fighting for freedom. At this very moment, we are supporting the notorious General Ky, who was a mercenary of the French against the Algerians, who acknowledges Hitler as his hero-figure, and who supervised the strangulation of the nonviolent Buddhist movement. When it became

evidence that these regimes could not defeat the Viet Cong, we deliberately stepped up the war, transformed advisors into soldiers, increased the soldiers from some ten thousand to a half-million and launched bombing raids upon the North on a scale as vast as that in World War II. This is no longer a small war. It is the third largest in American history and it dominates our lives with its evil consequences.

All of this reveals that we are in an untenable position morally and politically. We are left standing before the world glutted with wealth and power but morally constricted and impoverished. We are engaged in a war that seeks to turn the clock of history back and perpetuate white colonialism. The greatest irony and tragedy of it all is that our nation which initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of this modern world, is now cast in the mold of being an arch anti-revolutionary.

One of the greatest casualties of the war in Vietnam is the Great Society. This confused war has played havoc with our domestic destinies. Despite feeble protestations to the contrary, the promises of the Great Society have been shot down on the battlefield of Vietnam. The pursuit of this widened war has narrowed the promised dimensions of the domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens both at the front and at home.

While the anti-poverty program is cautiously initiated, zealously supervised and required to be an instant success, billions are liberally expended for this ill-considered war. The security we profess to seek in foreign adventures we will lose in our decaying cities. The bombs in Vietnam explode at home; they destroy the hopes and possibilities for a decent America.

It is estimated that we spend \$322,000 for each enemy we kill, while we spend in the so-called war on poverty in America only about \$53.00 for each person classified as "poor". And much of that \$53.00 goes for salaries of people who are not poor. We have escalated the war in Vietnam and de-escalated the skirmish against poverty. It challenges the imagination to contemplate what lives we could transform if we were to cease killing. I do not say some have charged that our nation cannot support both war and adequate anti-poverty programs. We can do both, but I warn that it is inevitable that the men of power who never wanted a struggle for civil rights and the elimination of poverty will use the burden of the war to scuttle constructive social programs. Their voices are already loud and effective, and they will put a false and immoral choice between the cost of progress and what they call the cost of survival. This all too prevalent thinking is being used to escalate the war and de-escalate the importance of civil rights.

I do not suggest that there can be no progress toward equality even if the war continues, but I do believe that the struggle is made harder and more complex. I will continue my civil rights activities not with diminished vigor but with increased energy because I know the war has compounded our difficulties financially, morally and psychologically.

I might also state at this point for clarification that I have have not urged a mechanical fusion of the civil rights and peace movements. There are people who have come to see the moral imperative of equality but who cannot yet see the moral imperative of world brotherhood. I would like to see the fervor of the civil rights movement imbued into the peace movement to instill it with greater strength, but I am not urging a single organizational form.

I believe everyone has a duty to be in both the civil rights and peace movements, but for those who presently choose but one, I would hope they will finally come to see the moral roots common to both. I hope they will understand that brotherhood is indivisible, that equality of races is connected with the equality of nations in a single harmonious co-existence of all human beings.

A further casualty of the war in Vietnam is the humility of our nation. Through rugged determination, scientific and technological progress and freedom from wars fought on its soil.

America has become the richest and most powerful nation in the world. This year our national gross product will reach the astounding figure of 780 billion dollars. All of this is a staggering picture of our great power.

But honesty impels me to admit that our power has often made us arrogant. We feel that our money can do anything. We arrogantly feel that we have everything to teach other nations and nothing to learn from them. We often arrogantly feel that we have some divine, messianic mission to police the whole world. We are arrogant, as Senator Fulbright has said, to think ourselves "God's avenging angels". We are arrogant in not allowing young nations to go through the same growing pains, turbulence and revolution that characterized our history. We are arrogant in our contention that we have some sacred mission to protect people from totalitarian rule while we make little use of our power to end the evils of South Africa and Rhodesia, and while we in fact support dictatorships with guns and money under the guise of fighting communism. We are arrogant in professing to be concerned about the freedom of foreign nations while not setting our own house in order. Many of our senators and congressmen vote joyously to appropriate billions of dollars for war in Vietnam, and these same senators and congressmen vote loudly against a fair housing bill to make it possible for a negro veteran of Vietnam to purchase a decent home. We arm Negro soldiers to kill on foreign battlefields, but offer little protec-

tion for their relative from beatings and killings in our own South. We are willing to make the Negro 100% of a citizen in warfare, but reduce him to 50% of a citizen on American soil. Of all the good things in life the Negro has approximately one-half those of whites; of the bad he has twice that of whites. Thus, half of all Negroes live in substandard housing and he has half the income of whites. When we turn to the negative experiences of life, the Negro has a double share. There are twice as many Negroes unemployed as white ; there are twice as many Negro soldiers dying in action in Vietnam as whites in proportion to their numbers in the population.

All of this reveals that our nation has not yet used its vast resources of power to end the long night of poverty, racism and man's inhumanity to man. Enlarged power means enlarged peril if there is not concomitant growth of the soul. Constructive power is the right use of strength. If our nation's strength is not used responsibly and with restraint, it will be, following Acton's dictum, using power that tends to corrupt and absolute power that corrupts absolutely. Our arrogance can be our doom. It can bring the curtain down on our national drama. Ultimately a great nation is a compassionate nation. We are challenged in these turbulent days to use our power to speed up the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain."

Another reason why I vigorously oppose the war in Vietnam is that its continuation deeply threatens the prospect of mankind's survival. This war has created the climate for greater armament and further expansion of destructive nuclear power. President John F. Kennedy said on one occasion: "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind." Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served as a negative good preventing the spread and growth of an evil force, but the destructive power of modern weapons eliminates even the possibility that war may serve as a negative good. If we assume that life is worth living and that man has a right to survive, then we must find an alternative to war. In a day when vehicles hurtle through outer space and guided ballistic missiles carve highways of death through the stratosphere, no nation can claim victory in war. A so-called limited war will leave little more than a calamitous legacy of human suffering, political turmoil and spiritual disillusionment. A world war -- God forbid! -- will leave only smouldering ashes as a mute testimony of a human race whose folly led inexorably to ultimate death. So if modern man continues to flirt unhesitatingly with war, he will transform his earthly habitat into an inferno such as even the mind of Dante could not imagine.

Let me say finally that I oppose the war in Vietnam because I love America. I speak out against it not in anger but with anxiety and sorrow in my heart, and above all with a passionate desire to see our beloved country stand as the moral example of the world. I speak out against this war because I am disappointed with America. There can be no great disappointment where there is no great love. I am disappointed with our failure to deal positively and forthrightly with the triple evils of racism, extreme materialism and militarism. We are presently moving down a dead-end road that can lead to national disaster.

To return to the road of peace, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war. Many sincere people argue that we should withdraw unilaterally, and I understand the logic of their position. I understand that when France withdrew from Algeria, she benefited not only the Algerians but herself. France earned far more prestige from withdrawal than she might have gained from total military victory. But France was fighting in Algeria for many years before her people learned that this way out was honorable. The majority of Americans have not yet learned this lesson. Realism compels us to look for a program that can support and which can end the fighting. I think there is such a program.

Distinguished statesmen the world over believe the end of bombings to be the key to peace. A large minority of Americans want the bombings terminated. I firmly believe that if it were clear to all Americans that this is a practical move to peace, 90% of the nation would enthusiastically endorse it.

On December 19th, Washington officially asked U Thant to take whatever steps were necessary for a cease fire. U Thant responded "Stop the bombing". Why have we not yet done it? We asked for an answer and were given it. Let us demand insistently that our government honor its word. If Washington did not hear U Thant, let us say it loudly and often enough so that the deaf can hear it --- STOP THE BOMBING.

Let us save our national honor ---STOP THE BOMBING.

Let us save American lives and Vietnamese lives --- STOP THE BOMBING.

Let us take a single instantaneous step to the peace table --- STOP THE BOMBING.

Let us put an honorable peace on the agenda before another day passes ---STOP THE BOMBING.

Let us be able to face the world with a concrete deed of genuine peace --- STOP THE BOMBING.

Let our voices ring out across the land to say the American people are not vainglorious conquerers --- STOP THE BOMBING.

During these days of human travail, we must not permit ourselves to lapse into pessimism. We must organize for peace. We all owe a debt to those student body presidents, Peace Corps volunteers and others who have raised their voices to question the war. I would like to urge students from colleges all over the nation to use this summer and coming summers educating and organizing communities across the nation against the war. I have already talked with students who are organizing in this vain from such schools as Harvard University on the banks of the Charles River in Massachusetts and my own Morehouse College on the red hills of Georgia. We must all speak out in a multitude of voices against this most cruel and senseless war. The thunder of our voices will be the only sound stronger than the blast of bombs and the clamor of war hysteria.

I have tried to be honest today. To be honest is to confront the truth. To be honest is to realize that the ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of convenience and moments of comfort, but where he stands in moments of challenge and moments of controversy. However unpleasant and inconvenient the truth may be, I believe we must expose and face it if we are to achieve a better quality of American life.

A few weeks ago, the distinguished American historian, Henry Steele Commager, told a senate committee: "Justice Holmes used to say that the first lesson a judge had to learn was that he was not God...we do tend, perhaps more than other nations, to transform

our wars into crusades...our current involvement in Vietnam is cast, increasingly, into a moral mold...it is my feeling that we do not have the resources, material, intellectual or moral, to be at once an American power, a European power and an Asian power."

I agree with Dr. Commanger, and I would suggest that there is, however, another kind of power that America can and should be. It is a moral power; a power harnessed to the service of peace and human beings.

All the world knows that America is a great military power. We need not be diligent in seeking to prove it. We must now show the world our moral power. It is still not too late for our beloved nation to make the proper choice. If we decide to become a moral power, we will lead mankind in transforming the jangling discords of this world into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. If we make the right decision, we will be able to transform our pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of peace. This will be a glorious day. In reaching it we can fulfill the noblest of American dreams.

###

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY *SP4 JMK* E.B.I.

DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION

Date: 4/14/67

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) BY *Rte*

DECLASSIFICATION following *4-14-87*

(Type in plaintext or code)

12-14-79

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Re New York teletype dated 4/13/67, wherein was reported contact between MARTIN LUTHER KING and STANLEY LEVISON.

Enclosed are 11 copies of an LHM incorporating information reported in re communication. [redacted] was the source of the information. Two copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office.

[redacted]

Classified by *6080* Exempt from GDS, Category *1* Date of Declassification Indefinite *12/5/77*

- 1 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
- 1 - (100-108670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- 1 - (105-438315) (VIDEM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6670) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York
- 1 - (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
- 1 - (100-135585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (43)
- 1 - (100-154786) (VIDEM) (42)
- 1 - (100-154917) (SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE) (43)
- 1 - (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (43)

11 APR 15 1967

JMK:pan
(14)

ENCLOSURE

Approved *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

NOT RECORDED
180 APR 17 1967

59 APR 24 1967

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442529-148

12-10-79
STARR, A
REASON
DATE OF REVIEW
APPROVED BY
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY
DATE 4/14/67
CLASSIFIED BY
100-106670



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
April 14, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau 100-442529

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY etc
DATE 12-14-79

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 13, 1967, that Stanley Levison and Martin Luther King, the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), were in contact on that date, during which time they discussed King's Vietnam policy. It was in this regard that Levison apprised King as to what progress he had made in writing part of the speech he (King) will deliver on Saturday, April 15, 1967, when he addresses a gathering at the United Nations, which is being sponsored by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Levison's part of the speech, which they discussed and which King enthusiastically accepted, was as follows:

"Many sincere people argue, that we should withdraw unilaterally, and I (King) understand the logic of their position. I understand that when France withdrew from Algeria, she benefited not only the Algerians but herself. France earned far more prestige from withdrawal than she might have gained from total victory; but France was fighting in Algeria for years before her people learned that this way out was honorable. The majority of Americans have not yet learned this lesson. Realism compels us to look for a program they can support and which can end the fighting. I think there is such a program -- I believe almost a majority of Americans want the bombings to cease. Let us demand insistently that our Government honor Hanoi's promise to negotiate if the bombings cease."

King thought Levison's part of the speech was written in a very beautiful style, and disclosed that he will use it without any change whatsoever.

Classified by 250 K/KAP
Exempt from GDS, Category 2 ENCLOSURE
Date of Declassification Indefinite 12/5/77
100-106670

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4N m/ldk
REASON FOR EXTENSION 4-14-87
DATE OF REVIEW 4-14-87
EXCLUDED FROM automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4N m/ldk
REASON FOR EXTENSION 4-14-87
DATE OF REVIEW 4-14-87
EXCLUDED FROM automatic downgrading and declassification

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

King then revealed to Levison the part of the speech he had prepared. According to King, he will state that the United States deliberately sabotaged the Geneva agreement by calling for elections in South Vietnam and providing that the Seventeenth Parallel was but a temporary line; that the United States deliberately put Premier Diem into power and kept him until it became tired of him, then replaced him with Premier Ky; and that the United States launched bombing raids against North Vietnam on the scale of World War II.

Levison was of the opinion that King should get a sampling of Negro feeling, and suggested he get a private poll project under way to prove that a majority of Negroes want the war to end. King was agreeable to the suggestion, prompting Levison to promise that he would consider how to raise the necessary funds for such a venture.

King revealed that he was in contact with Dr. Ralph Bunche on April 13, 1967, concerning Bunche's criticism of his Vietnam policy. And according to King, Bunche was very sorry for the remarks he had made and finally admitted it by saying: "Martin I want you to know I agree with everything you are saying about Vietnam. I am absolutely opposed to our policy."

The statement made by Bunche, which criticized King, was reported in "The New York Times" of April 13, 1967. It was as follows:

"He (King) should realize that his anti-United States in Vietnam crusade is bound to alienate many friends and supporters of the civil rights movement and greatly weaken it -- an ironic twist for a civil rights leader."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

In the April 14, 1967 issue of "The New York Times", on page 21, it was reported that Dr. Ralph Bunche issued a statement on April 13, 1967, in which he referred to a press release attributed to Martin Luther King in which he disavowed any intent to merge the civil rights and peace movements. Bunche said he was gratified to see King's disavowal of any intent to merge the movements, and that it took care of the issue to which he had directed his statement criticizing him. u

King expressed disappointment with Bunche because he would not muster sufficient moral courage to come out openly and make the statement concurring with his position. He could not understand why he would not since, as King said, he is not an employee of the United States. 8

King will see Bunche on Saturday, April 15, 1967, following the speech at the United Nations. This fact prompted Levison to suggest to King that he make certain that newsmen photograph them with each other. Levison wanted this done for publicity reasons. He felt it was very important that Bunche had changed his position and now supports King. 9

The same source advised on April 14, 1967, that Stanley Levison and Gloria Kantor, an acquaintance of his, were in contact on that date. Their concern was over the demonstration and march to be held on April 15, 1967, in New York City. In reply to an inquiry as to whether Levison planned to march, he told Kantor he was planning to do so. 5

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CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY *SP4 J. J. [illegible]*

REASON FOR EXTENSION

FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE

DECL. Transmit the following in

Date: 4/14/67

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY *[initials]*
DATE *12-14-79*

Classified by *6080 Fall/AP*
Exempt from GDS Category *2*
Date of Declassification Indefinite
12/5/77

Re New York teletype, dated 4/13/67, concerning conference between MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., STANLEY LEVISON, HARRY WACHTEL, HARRY DELAFONTE, CLEVELAND ROBINSON and ANDREW YOUNG.

Enclosed are eleven copies of an LHM incorporating information in referenced communication. Two copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office. [redacted] is the source of the information.

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

- 6-Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-106570) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
 - (1 - 100-438794) (COMINFIL SCLC)
 - (1 - 105-138315) (VIDE 1)
- 2-Atlanta (100-5718) (COMINFIL SCLC) (Encls. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-5536) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- 5-New York
 - (1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
 - (1 - 100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (43)
 - (1 - 100-154736) (VIDE 1) (42)
 - (1 - 100-149194) (SCLC) (43)

NOT RECORDED
172 APR 18 1967

RM:pam
(14)

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____ Sent _____
Special Agent in Charge

SECRET

APR 15 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442529-7111

Classification 9/23/78 [illegible]

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]

b(1)

c

The source used to characterize PAUL ROBESON
was LOUIS BUDENZ (by request).

u

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
April 14, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau 100-442529

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY PLC

DATE 12-14-79

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

On April 12, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was in conference on that date with the following individuals: Harry Belafonte, prominent entertainer; Harry Wachtel and Stanley Levison, New York advisors to King; Andrew Young, Executive Assistant to King, and Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 65 of the Wholesale - Retail Store Workers of America. The following is a resume of what transpired:

King prefaced his remarks by commenting that a campaign is underway to undermine his leadership in Negro communities because of his stand on Vietnam. King had in mind the criticism of Dr. Ralph Bunche, United States Representative to the United Nations, who reported to the press on April 12, 1967, that King should not try to lead both the civil rights movement and the crusade against the war.

Andrew Young reported that Bunche had agreed to meet with Dr. Benjamin Spock and King following Saturday's (March 15, 1967) march at the United Nations.

With regard to the criticism from Bunche, Belafonte remarked Bunche had never made a contribution to the civil rights struggle. As to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP's) criticism of King, Belafonte said Roy Wilkins of the NAACP recently received an award from Secretary of State Dean Rusk, which accounts for the fact that they are in agreement.

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REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION
4-14-87
6076

Classified by 6080 V2/MP
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
12/3/77

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ENCLOSURE

100-106670

100-106670-200/100
1-1-68
REASON FOR EXTENSION
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION
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SLIP (S) OF Classified
DATE 2/21/78 SP4 JRM/ld

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Communist Influence in Racial Matters

Levison commented he was not in agreement that Saturday's event is the answer for King. It was his belief that the press will handle the event in the same manner as they handled other Negro reactions, but Levison said that Saturday would not be King's only chance to speak. It was his belief that Saturday's demonstration will be composed of ninety per cent white people, and therefore, King's advisors must insure Negro community support for King. Levison urged that a newspaper advertisement be run following Saturday's demonstration asking whether King can be active in the peace fight.

Contrary to the opinions of his advisors, King thought Saturday would be most important since it will be the largest peace demonstration in the country. Wachtel agreed, but cautioned King not to rely on Saturday's demonstration as his opportunity to oppose the war, since many people will not respond due to the "red baiting atmosphere".

King, in trying to suggest ways to bring about harmony among Negroes, said he would try to meet with A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and other Negro leaders to explain his position. He reiterated his belief that the criticism of him is an effort to get him and to undermine him, and offered proof of this by pointing to criticisms of him whereas no Negroes will attack Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

Wachtel, in agreeing with King's conclusion, said that they may even pull "J. Edgar Hoover's old stuff" out of the bottom of the bag.

The conference ended with an agreement to meet again on Saturday night, April 15, 1967, at Belafonte's house, and that King should confer with Dr. Bunche and A. Philip Randolph.

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Communist Influence in Racial Matters

Following the aforementioned conference, King and Levison conferred privately since King wanted Levison's observations free from the others. In order to insure success on Saturday, Levison suggested having spots on the radio and will confer with Robinson about it. Levison cautioned against having these radio spots appeal to Negroes to follow King on Saturday because most Negroes do not want to become identified with this demonstration.

King's speech, to be delivered at the United Nations on Saturday, April 15, 1967, was discussed, particularly the length of it. Levison advised King to cut out the parts dealing with history, defense and the United Nations. King agreed and asked Levison to prepare a paragraph stating that even though many people feel the United States should unilaterally withdraw from Vietnam and that no damage would be done to the United States' position and would, in fact, heighten prestige, King has concluded it will not be done, so his concern must be to bring the war to an end.

Levison advised King to retain the part in the speech that fifteen million Americans oppose the war in addition to those who are half-hearted about United States involvement.

In trying to arrive at a decision as to what course King should follow after Saturday, Levison advised him to unite with people who have been isolated following their criticism of the United States, so he would be aligned with those who have power and who make a difference rather than be aligned with a fringe element as he is now.

According to the source, Levison feels that King's peace position is so far advanced that it has isolated him the same way Paul Robeson's pro-Soviet position isolated him.

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~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

[REDACTED]

b(1)

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. u

In June, 1950, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised he knew Paul Robeson to have been a concealed Communist Party member prior to 1945. u

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Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York, New York. u

[REDACTED] c

b(1)

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto. u

[REDACTED] c

b(1)

[REDACTED] c

With respect to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, it is to be noted that this organization is an adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which Martin Luther King, Jr. is the president, and serves to raise funds for the SCLC. u

~~SECRET~~

739-232

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild: u

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.) u
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.) u
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)" u

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FBI

Date: 4/15/67

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)
 FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-57229)
 SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
 SM-C

FOIA H

Re Los Angeles airtel dated 4/13/67.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Referenced Los Angeles airtel set forth only known public appearances and press conferences by KING while in Los Angeles.

- 3 - Bureau
 1 - Atlanta (100-5586)
 1 - San Francisco
 2 - Los Angeles
 JST/kas
 (7)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
 AND FIELD OFFICES
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 SLIP(S) BY PTG
 DATE 12-14-79

CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803 RMP/37
 REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
 DATE OF REVIEW 4-15-87

100-106670-2902

APR 17 1967

D.D. Wick

EX 106

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SUBV. CONTROL

62 APR 25 1967

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Date: 4/13/67

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REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 4-13-87

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-149194)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL SCLC
IS - C
(OO: ATLANTA)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY Ptc
DATE 12-14-79

Re New York teletype dated 4/12/67, wherein was reported conference between STANLEY LEVISON and DORA MC DONALD, secretary to MARTIN LUTHER KING.

Enclosed are eleven copies of an LHM incorporating information in re communication. Two copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office and one copy is enclosed for the information of the Los Angeles Office. [redacted] was the source of the information.

- Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
 - (1 - 105-138315) (VIDEM)
- Atlanta (100-5718) Encls. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- Los Angeles (100-) (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM)
- New York
 - (1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
 - (1 - 100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (43)
 - (1 - 100-153735) (CIRM) (43)
 - (1 - 100-154786) (VIDEM) (42)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY Classification
DATE 8/16/79

BMK:pam 12-1-79

(14) cc: [redacted]

REASON FOR EXTENSION 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW 4-13-87

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198 APR 19 1967

CARBON COPY

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

51 APR 26 1967

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Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 12/3/77

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
April 13, 1967

Bureau 100-438794

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REASON FOR EXTENSION **2**
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION **4-13-87**
6076

~~SECRET~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) BY **Rtc**
DATE **12-14-79**

Communist Infiltration of the
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference (SCLC)
Internal Security - C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF **Classification**
DATE **8/16/79**

On April 11, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that information had come to his attention which disclosed that Stanley Levison and Dora McDonald, personal secretary to Martin Luther King, the President of the SCLC, were in contact on that date concerning a statement King was to make on April 12, 1967, in Los Angeles, California.

The statement King would make, according to the source, would try to explain his position on the Vietnam War in order to counter the adverse criticism he is receiving.

The following is in substance the contents of a statement Levison gave to McDonald for transmission to King to be used by him:

King was to state that he had lived in ghettos in Chicago and Atlanta, and had travelled thousands of miles each month, which had taken him into Negro communities across the nation; that his direct personal experience with Negroes in all walks of life convinced him that the majority opposed the war in Vietnam. Their opposition, King would say, is based on two reasons: they are against the war itself and they feel it has caused significant and alarming diminishing concern to civil rights progress.

In the speech prepared by Levison, King was to attribute his recent opposition to the war to many requests from Negroes that he articulate their concern and frustration. They (Negroes) feel, King was to say, that

CLASS. & EXT. BY **1103 RDB/ldm**
REASON FOR EXT. **1-2.4.2**
DATE OF REVIEW **4-13-67**
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Date of Declassification Indefinite
15/3/77

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100-106670-

ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF **Classification**
DATE **2/24/78**
50/ldm

~~SECRET~~

Communist Infiltration of the
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference (SCLC)

civil rights is well on its way to becoming a neglected and forgotten issue long before it is even partially solved. **B**

With regard to the criticism King had received from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the statement prepared by Levison would have King state that it was untrue that he advocated the fusion of civil rights and the peace movement; that he and the SCLC had expressed their views on the war and had drawn attention to its damaging effects on civil rights programs, **B** but do not want a merger or fusion of movements.

The statement commented that the war is hampering the civil rights program, therefore, could not be ignored as a factor. The basic elements in common between the peace movement and the civil rights movement are human elements, Levison's statement observed. **B**

In conclusion, the statement, as prepared by Levison, noted that King did not believe the nation could be a moral leader of justice, equality and democracy if it became trapped in the role of a self-appointed world policeman; and that he would reiterate his determination to express his opposition to this wrong without in any way diminishing his civil rights role. **B**

~~SECRET~~

April 19, 1967

REC 54

100-106670-2900

[REDACTED]
Carmel, Indiana 46032

Dear [REDACTED]

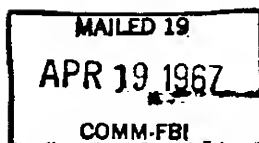
b7(c)

Your letter was received on April 17th.

In response to your inquiry, information contained in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I am sure you will understand the reason for this policy and why I am unable to furnish the data you requested.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with [REDACTED]

REC-D MICK

HRH:rfm (3)

EBI

b7(c)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

54 APR 26 1967

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-16-79 BY 9803RDD/CM

149
b7(c)
46032
[REDACTED]
Carmel, Indiana

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

One of the boys in our local school made the statement that he considered Martin Luther King considerably more sympathetic to the communist causes than to pro-American causes. His teacher called his hand and said he must either prove his statement or retract it.

I gave him the picture which has been widely circulated which shows M. L. King attending the Highlander Folk School and also an editorial which appeared in American Opinion which outlined some of the dubious characters with whom he surrounds himself., i.e. Bayard Rustin, O'Dell, etc. He was told by his teacher that this was "Birch garbage" and that he did not consider it credible material on which to make a judgement.

Would you have any material available on Rev. King that goes into his background and those with whom he is associated; also anything you might have on the Southern Christian Conference (I am not sure that is the correct title, but I am sure you know which organization I mean).

I would appreciate any information you can give me or any reference to another source for material.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
[REDACTED] b7(c)

REC 54 100-100670290

3 APR 19 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-10-19 BY 9813 RDD/eam

ack 4-19-67
WPH:llh
CORRESPONDENCE

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Date: 4/14/67

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(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5586) *ce*MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - CRe New York teletype to Bureau 4/13/67 captioned, *u*
"CIRM". *b(2) b(7)(D)*Re teletype sets forth information from *[REDACTED]*
concerning KING's contact on 4/13/67 with Dr. RALPH BUNCHE *[REDACTED]**[REDACTED]* *b(1)*The foregoing for information. *cc**[REDACTED]* *b(1)*

3- Bureau (RM)

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APR 18 1967

AGS:BJH

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~~SECRET~~Approved: *[Signature]*

Date of Declassification Indefinite

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DATE *4-14-79*
SLIP (S) OF *CLASSIFICATION* OF REVIEW *4-14-79*
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DATE *4-14-79*
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

~~SECRET~~ DATE: April 14, 1967

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

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PURPOSE

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 WAN / *mm*
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2, 3
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that either Assistant to the Director DeLoach or Assistant Director Sullivan be approved to personally contact and brief Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York concerning the communist influence on Martin Luther King, inasmuch as King is to meet shortly with Governor Rockefeller and King's communist advisors hope to take advantage of the forthcoming meeting to influence events in Latin America along communist lines.

BACKGROUND

Last week, through [REDACTED] we learned that Stanley Levison, the concealed communist who is Martin Luther King's chief advisor, was in contact with an associate to whom he disclosed that he had recently talked to Rockefeller. This apparently is Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York because Levison said the discussion concerned Venezuelan iron ore deposits about which Rockefeller enterprises are negotiating with the Venezuelan Government.

Levison also told his associate that Rockefeller was disturbed about Martin Luther King's position on Vietnam and wanted to meet King to discuss it. Levison told his contact this pleased him because it would give King the opportunity to present to Rockefeller King's views on Latin America which he feels has the potential of becoming the next Vietnam. According to Levison, King wanted to use the opportunity to advise Rockefeller on the steps that should be taken in Latin America supposedly to avoid this.

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SEE ADDENDUM PAGE THREE

CONTINUED — OVER

14 APR 20 1967

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

79 APR 21 1967

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DECLASSIFIED BY SP4JRM/ML
ON 1-21-81 6076

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP4JRM/ML
DATE 08-11-81

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

~~SECRET~~

The following day, April 6, 1967, the same source advised that Levison was contacted by Harry Wachtel about King's meeting with Rockefeller. As you know, Wachtel is King's other close advisor and Wachtel also has had past communist affiliations. Wachtel told Levison that arrangements had been made to have Martin Luther King meet Rockefeller on either April 22 or April 24, 1967. (2)

OBSERVATION

Martin Luther King has clearly become merely a puppet in the hands of Levison and Wachtel. He relies on both these individuals more than anyone else and they currently are directing most of his activities and shaping most of his public speeches in a way that goes straight down the communist line. These two men have guided King to a position whereby they are attempting to make him not only the acknowledged leader of 22 million Negroes, but now the accepted leader of the vast anti-war effort in the country. Tomorrow, for example, King will play the most prominent role as the spokesman for the peace protesters in the demonstration in New York City. His recent vicious condemnation of the United States in a public speech shows how much of a communist puppet he has become and illustrates the danger he represents in the hands of the scheming communists. (1)

Now Wachtel and Levison see an opportunity to project the communist line further into Latin American activities through King by attempting to have King influence Rockefeller in his thinking. The danger in this is that Rockefeller, through his vast Latin American holdings, is very influential in Latin American affairs, and if he buys any of King's ideas they will definitely represent the communist ideas of Levison and Wachtel. (2)

On the surface Wachtel is a partner in the law firm of Rubin, Wachtel, Baum and Levine, 598 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, a very large and influential law firm. Levison on the surface is the owner and operator of the Park Management Realty Company, 1841 Broadway, New York, New York. Both of their past communist affiliations have been well concealed and today neither of them ostensibly have any connection with the Communist Party; nevertheless, from our experience they represent two of the most dedicated and dangerous communists in the country. (3)

~~SECRET~~

CONTINUED

OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

~~SECRET~~

Once previously, in December, 1964, King had occasion to have dealings with Governor Rockefeller and we arranged to have Rockefeller briefed by former Special Agent [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] concerning Levison's influence on King and [REDACTED] Either [REDACTED] did not make much of an impression or Rockefeller chose for reason of political expediency to ignore it inasmuch as we learned in October 1965 that Rockefeller gave King a \$25,000 donation, spoke in King's church in Atlanta, and had dinner with King's father and his family. b7(c)

Despite this, the stakes are too high in what is involved in the current forthcoming meeting with King and Rockefeller for us not to do something to prevent the communists from influencing Rockefeller through King. It is believed that we should again make an effort to brief Rockefeller, not only about King, but also in regard to the backgrounds of Levison and Wachtel and that this time it should be done personally through either Mr. DeLoach or Mr. Sullivan, either of whom could handle this discreetly, prudently, tactfully and in a manner which would insure that the FBI's interest would be completely protected and assured.

RECOMMENDATION

That the Director designate either Assistant to the Director DeLoach or Assistant Director Sullivan to handle this as outlined above. u

W.C.S.
ADDENDUM: 4/14/67 - W.C.S. chs:

We should not ignore this situation. The stakes are too high. I think Mr. DeLoach is the logical selection to handle this assignment. If it is not to be indirectly, u it should be done through a second person who has great influence with Rockefeller.

Mr. DeLoach, New York, knows the person personally and could handle -

SECRET

King Urges Campaign Of Antiwar Education

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said yesterday he foresees the need for a "massive education" campaign against the war in Vietnam.

In a television interview, the Negro leader who led thousands in a New York antiwar rally Saturday said the education mission should precede any civil disobedience measures, which he said he does not now advocate.

He also asserted that the U.S. involvement in Vietnam has diverted attention from civil rights and "excited violence and hatred among our people."

[After the CBS "Face the Nation" interview in New York, Dr. King told reporters he believes 10 U.S. cities are "powder kegs" that may explode into race riots this summer.

[Among those cities he listed are Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, the Bay Area of California, including Oakland, New York, Newark, N.J., and Washington, the Associated Press reported.

[He expressed specific concern for Southern cities, saying, "We haven't had any riots in the South yet and conditions are intolerable down there."

The Johnson Administration's hostility toward the antiwar demonstration was expressed in another television interview by Secretary of State Dean Rusk. On NBC's "Meet the Press" (WBC), Rusk said such demonstrations may have the effect of prolonging the war.

nam's leaders might interpret them to mean widespread opposition to a continuing U.S. involvement.

Rusk also said he does not doubt that "the Communist apparatus is very active" in promoting dissension, but emphasized that he does not consider all demonstrations to be Communist-inspired.

In discussing the future role of the peace movement, Dr. King said "something must be done on a much more massive scale to oppose" the war.

"I do not at this point advocate civil disobedience," he said. "I think we have to do a lot of groundwork in massive education before that. I have only urged young men to study their possible status as conscientious objectors. And there is nothing evasive or illegal about this."

Dr. King's aides say he plans extensive speaking engagements in his antiwar activities and that he probably will work through a peace group known as Clergy and Laymen Concerned.

"I have only said that the fervor of the civil rights movement must imbue the peace movement to make it stronger," he said.

He called on the Administration to admit that "mistakes" had been made in involving the U.S. in Vietnam, but said he would not single out President Johnson as solely to blame. Four Administrations led this country into the war, he asserted, because the country has been too long

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APR 17 1967

The Struggle to Sway King

By David S. Broder and
William Chapman

Washington Post Staff Writers

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s dramatic bolt into the American peace movement has provoked a long, secretly waged struggle within the civil rights coalition, engaging political forces ranging from the radical left to top Johnson Administration circles.

At stake is the prestige and influence of the internationally famous Nobel laureate, the direction of growing anti-war crusades, the future of the civil rights movement, and, some feel, the course of presidential politics in 1968.

Dr. King's appearance yesterday at New York's peace rally was the focal point of long debate. Even some advisers who urged him to speak out on the war in Vietnam opposed his sharing that platform with representatives of the New Left and the far-out Old Left. Other friends cautioned against submerging civil rights in any part of the peace movement.

In Washington, Administration officials privately suspect that Dr. King leaped headlong into peace campaigns partly in search of money and headlines for his Southern Christian Leadership Conference after suffering setbacks in last year's Northern civil rights drives. Some of his long-time admirers complain he is just terribly naive.

Through a turbulent month of soul-searching, Dr. King himself was uncertain about tactics but never about the basic issues of attacking the U.S. war policies in Vietnam. To one and all, he maintained he has a moral obligation to denounce the war.

He was under heavy pressure from moderates to disavow the radical left who

wanted him to place all the war blame on the U.S. and to merge unequivocally the movements for peace and civil rights.

Yesterday he did that, saying "I am not absolving Hanoi nor the Vietcong of their responsibilities" and "I have not urged the mechanical fusion of the civil rights and peace movements."

That declaration—which drew boos from some extremists in the New York throng—placated his more moderate critics within the civil rights movement and the Democratic Party, but it did not end their apprehensions about the trend of Dr. King's activities.

His personal involvement in the peace crusade began in a Petersburg, Va., football stadium one steamy night in July, 1965. Before 2000 sympathetic Negro listeners, he called for a negotiated peace in Vietnam and said he might adapt techniques of the civil rights protest to the peace movement. "The long night of war must be stopped," he declared.

Threat Forgotten

The threat of peace action was temporarily forgotten. Dr. King talked of corresponding with North Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh, but aides say he never did. Instead, he took his Southern Christian Leadership Conference into Chicago's ghettos and Cicero's white neighborhoods in the summer of 1965 and suffered a serious defeat.

The new chapter opened early this year, with Dr. King in Jamaica brooding and writing a book while one of his closest aides, the Rev. James Bevel, moved full-time into the peace movement as organizer of the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam.

According to one SCLC assistant, the Rev. Andrew Young, Dr. King's ambivalence really ended in February when fighting resumed after the Tet, or Vietnamese lunar New Year, truce. "He got very hopeful during the bombing pause," Young said. "There seemed

to be a mood for negotiations and de-escalation. Then everything began to break down and Dr. King got very depressed."

A Constant Struggle

From the moment he returned to New York until his speech April 4, Dr. King was the center of a constant struggle among his friends. Bevel kept the peace issue constantly in front of him, urging his leader to speak out strongly against the Administration and, most importantly, encouraging him to take a leadership role in the Spring Mobilization.

Young, as usual, was on Bevel's side. He believes there is a "sort of moral disintegration in this country now" and it has smothered the civil rights fervor of the early 1960s. "What does it mean when one kid is killed in Alabama when the headlines exalt the killing of 900 Vietcong in Vietnam?" he

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The two young ministers asserted that Dr. King had a moral obligation to speak out on the war. Little progress will be made in civil rights, they suggested, so long as the Nation's attention is focused on Vietnam.

One of Three

This seemed to be Dr. King's own feelings. To many friends he offered this line of reasoning: He is one of three living Negro Nobel Peace-Prize winners. One of them, Albert Lut-bull, is under house arrest in South Africa, and the second, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, is prevented from speaking out because of his position as Undersecretary for Political Affairs at the United Nations. Only he, Dr. King asserted, is free to open a debate on Vietnam.

But other close advisers were giving Dr. King a different view. Moderate leaders argued that open endorsement of a peace movement could cripple the cause of civil rights. It would turn away those white liberals who have supported his marches but who have different opinions on the war.

Monolithic Movement

Furthermore, they pointed out, Dr. King, as the most visible and popular civil rights spokesman, could not separate himself in the movement from the civil rights movement in general.

"We are looked at as a monolithic movement," said one leader, "and when Dr. King speaks out personally, it creates problems for the whole movement."

Ironically, one adviser urging caution was Bayard Rustin, a veteran pacifist as well as civil rights spokesman who once was director of the War Resisters' League. Resorting to a reverse-twist argument, Rustin recalled that he once had been told by the League's officials that he could not spend time on civil rights and continue as pacifist leader.

King-Young Split

One crisis erupted early in March during an anguished telephone conversation between Dr. King and Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League. Both had appeared one evening before

a Great Neck, L.I., audience and split publicly on the war issue, with Young opposing a "mixture" of the civil rights and peace movements.

Late that night, Dr. King called Young at home. The two men argued until 3:30 a.m. Dr. King said he was disturbed at their falling-out and insisted that as a clergyman and citizen he had a moral obligation to attack the war.

Young, in reply, was blunt and tough. He told Dr. King that his world-wide influence was not as a theologian. He had influence, Young said, because of all the little people who believed in him and marched behind him in civil rights movement. It was not right to use that influence for some other purpose, Young declared.

Tactically Wrong

Furthermore, he argued, Dr. King was tactically wrong in telling people that domestic social programs, such as anti-poverty projects, would necessarily continue to suffer because of war spending. The people who are hungry should not have to wait until the war is over, Young said.

But Dr. King had determined by then to involve himself in the peace drives and the only open question was: How? The crucial issue was whether he should cooperate in the Spring Mobilization rally that took place yesterday.

Ranged against Bevel and Young on that point were most of Dr. King's older advisers. The Saturday rally, they argued, was open to anyone, and its supporters included groups far to the left, including the American Communist Party. There would be avowed sympathizers of the Vietcong in the crowd; U.S. officials would be denounced as Nazi-like warmongers; President Johnson would be pictured as a murderer of children. True, more moderate peace groups would be there, but the radicals with their Vietcong flags would attract the news media. Dr. King's involvement would mean a severe setback for civil rights, some advisers warned.

The argument led to an evening-long session on Sunday at the Madison Avenue Hotel. Dr. King and Street

Lowenstein, a wealthy young liberal lawyer who is on the board of Dr. King's SCLC.

Among those present were the Rev. Andrew Young; Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader; Dr. John C. Bennett, president of the Union Theological Seminary; Rustin; Lowenstein; Harry H. Wachtel, Dr. King's attorney, and several others.

The discussion—amicable and statesmanlike—according to one present—ranged over all the issues of the Spring Mobilization rally. Coffee was served and the advisers broke up into small groups. Dr. King retired alone to another room for private soul-searching, then emerged later to say he was still undecided. "I will have to deal with it in my own conscience," he told the group.

As an Individual

Actually, several present recalled, Dr. King seemed already to have determined the course he ultimately would follow. He would speak at the rally as an individual but he would not officially become a sponsor, hoping in that way to disentangle himself from the left-wing groups.

(However, in advertisements for the march this week, the sponsors' names were merely listed at the bottom while Dr. King's picture and his quotation denouncing the war appeared prominently, giving the impression that he was the major promoter of the rally.)

The rest is public history. Two weeks later, Dr. King went to Chicago and called the American involvement in Vietnam "barbaric" and "a blasphemy against all that America stands for." On April 4, after one last talk with his staff, he made the Riverside Church speech, accusing the U.S. of being the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today" and urging youths to avoid the war by becoming conscientious objectors.

Greatest Crisis

That attack provoked the greatest crisis in the civil rights movement since the endorsement of the Vietnam

Other civil rights leaders were reluctant to bring the quarrel into the open, but finally concluded that silence would indicate assent in Dr. King's arguments and open up a stream of criticism.

Whitney Young declared that civil rights and the war should be kept separate. He added: "The masses of Negro citizens we are committed to serve and who have given Negro leaders the influence they have, have as their first priority the immediate problem of survival in this country."

The NAACP accused Dr. King of making a "serious tactical mistake" in attempting to join the peace and civil rights movements. Even Bunche, from his position at the U.N., called on Dr.

King to abandon one movement or the other.

Reports flourished over the weekend that Dr. King was seeking a reconciliation meeting with the other civil rights leaders.

He let it be known that he did not anticipate a physical merger of the peace and civil rights movements. He stepped away from radicalism by signing on as co-chairman with a respected group of moderates called the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam.

But reconciliation seemed difficult to arrange. The peace campaign had exacerbated long-standing rivalries between the minister from Atlanta and such moderate chiefs as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. "I don't think Wilkins was grieved at having a chance to take a poke at King," said one civil rights leader.

Left to Others

The task of rebutting Dr. King was not left to the civil rights leaders. Top-ranking Democrats, including White House officials, sought to counter his impact on both Negro and white communities.

Even before Dr. King's Chicago speech, on March 17, a group of Negro newspaper publishers went to the White House to present President Johnson with a citation for his "courage in the pursuit of justice and freedom for all men." While

They received briefings, including one on Vietnam, from White House aides.

Louis Martin, the Negro deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee, got busy on the phone, calling publishers, Negro ministers, labor leaders, and others with audiences they could reach.

Martin's arguments were reflected in a spate of Negro press editorials noting the civil rights gains under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, urging support of the Negro troops in Vietnam, and observing that the Nation's only Negro Senator, Republican Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts, had switched to a pro-Administration position after a trip to Vietnam.

Martin told influential Negroes that the high Negro re-enlistment rate is an effective rebuttal to Dr. King's contention that Negro servicemen are being exploited in the "oppressive" Vietnam struggle.

While Martin was thus attempting to counter Dr. King's arguments, high Administration officials were giving inquiring reporters their own version of Dr. King's motives.

Out of Money?

The SCLC, they suggested, had run out of money and Dr. King had grabbed onto the peace movement in hopes of replenishing the treasury.

Rustin, who remains close to Dr. King despite a difference of views, says flatly that this charge is untrue. "I've never known Dr. King to take a position that would help him bring in money," Rustin declares.

Administration officials also expressed concern about radical influences on Dr. King's staff, and said this position will damage the already-shaky prospects for civil rights action in Congress this year.

The extent of that damage is debatable. Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.), manager of the Administration bill, says "You're darn right the King speeches hurt. They shouldn't, but they have. People who disagree with a man on one issue and then decided to go along with

him or others. I'm afraid an influential voice has been lost."

'As an Excuse'

But Clarence Mitchell, head of the Washington bureau of the NAACP and the most experienced of civil rights lobbyists, says, "Those who are hostile (to the bill) will certainly use this as an excuse, but at this stage, the fair-minded members of Congress look to the kind of statement that the NAACP board made as reflecting the views of colored people generally."

Both sides concede that chances of passing any kind of open-housing legislation this year look gloomy now. The chances had never been bright.

'Peace Candidate'

Of equal importance, in their view, is the ammunition they say Dr. King unwittingly provided for opponents of the war on poverty and other domestic welfare programs by his statement that the U.S. "would never invest the necessary funds and energies in the rehabilitation of poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued."

Of greater long-range concern to the Democrats and their liberal allies are the intimations that a merged peace-civil rights coalition could use Dr. King as its candidate for President on a third-party ticket in 1968.

"It's more and more reminding me of the coalition around Henry Wallace," said Joseph L. Rauh Jr., liberal Washington attorney and a leader of the anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action.

"New Left" political groups in New York and California have talked publicly for months about entering a "peace candidate" in next year's Democratic presidential primaries.

Last month, the liberal California Democratic Council, composed of 30,000 volunteer club members, voted to consider supporting such

a candidate if President Johnson refuses to change his Vietnam war policy.

Following Wallace?

Rauh, recalling how ADA was formed to fight the Communist-manipulated "Progressive Party" candidacy of Henry Wallace in 1948, said he sees Dr. King on the verge of making the same mistake Wallace did.

"He thinks of himself as a bridge between those who believe in our system and those who don't," Rauh said. "To my mind, that is an unbridgeable gap," Rauh said.

How serious is the prospect of a Dr. King "peace candidacy" in 1968? The evidence is ambiguous. One civil rights leader outside Dr. King's circle describes him as "a sitting duck" for such a proposition. Another, closer to Dr. King, thinks that he would refuse to have any part of a movement that included Communists, let alone one dominated by them.

The NAACP's Mitchell, skeptical of the organizational ability of Dr. King's supporters, thinks the appeal would be mainly to the "intellectual types" and would not penetrate the ghettos, where Democrats receive large majorities in presidential elections.

Where I live," says Mitchell, a Baltimorean, "nobody has heard of the New Left."

But the White House does not take lightly the possibility of Dr. King drawing off Negro and ultra-liberal votes at the same time George Wallace is luring white segregationists.

And that, among other reasons, is why the battle for the soul of Martin Luther King keeps escalating.



By Stephen Northup—The Washington Post

This militant New York group marched in the demonstration.



Associated Press

War protesters use fire from a blazing coffee can to burn draft cards in Central Park.

The Race Story: Two Negro Leaders

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. has created sharp controversy among Negroes by taking a new position for him of outspoken opposition to the Vietnam war. For Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, such opposition is an old story. What follows are articles on the controversy among Negroes over Vietnam, and over Mr. Carmichael's activities.

King as a Spokesman

ATLANTA—Ever since the civil rights revolution began, scholars, politicians, journalists and, quite often, the public at large have asked one question again and again: Who speaks for the Negro? Robert Penn Warren, the man of letters, once wrote a book with just that question as the title, and came up with the conclusion that there were many spokesmen for the Negro in civil rights.

But now the question is being asked once more, this time in connection with United States policy in Vietnam.

Is the spokesman Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who recently broke his silence on the war and is now calling the United States the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today"? Could it be Stokely Carmichael, the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or Floyd McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality—both of whom have been attacking the war in even stronger terms? Is it Senator Edward Brooke, who says he has come to the conclusion that the nation is taking the only course it could realistically take toward the war?

Tactical Mistake?

Or were Dr. Ralph Bunche, Roy Wilkins and other leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People speaking for the Negroes last week when they spoke out against Dr. King and said the fusion of the civil rights and peace movements would be a "serious tactical mis-

The answer appears to be that, despite the furor at the leadership level, the great mass of Negroes are not much more or less divided over the war than the great mass of whites.

During a random sample of Negro opinion, for example, Nelson Jack Edwards, who, as executive board member at large, is the ranking Negro in the United Auto Workers Union, said in Detroit that he thought Negroes were "a bit more—but not substantially more"—opposed to the war than whites.

And in Washington, the Rev. Channing E. Phillips, a Negro opponent of the war, wishes the majority of Negroes objected to the country's Vietnam policy, but has concluded that they do not. He thinks Negroes are probably "less exercised" about the war, at least in Washington, than are whites.

Occasional Dissent

This, then, is the way the survey went, with an occasional dissent here or there—usually on Negro college campuses where the antiwar feeling seems somewhat stronger than in the Negro community as a whole, or in the Mississippi Delta where there is still some civil rights activity and where many impoverished Negroes feel they would be receiving more Federal assistance were it not for the war.

But, when Negroes oppose the war, they usually do it for reasons other than those given by whites. Some Negroes—and especially those in the Student Committee and CORE—feel it unjust for the Negro to be asked to fight abroad as long as they are receiving less than a full measure of social and economic justice at home.

Others say they have observed that the nation's commitment to civil rights has declined as the war in Vietnam has escalated. Still others—and this view seems strong on Negro campuses—feel the Negro, while getting less than his proportionate share of the national income, is having to do more than his share of the fighting in Vietnam.

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The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date APR 16 1967

Nation Listens

But whatever their views on the war, Negroes can draw a certain amount of satisfaction from the fact that the nation is listening to them. Senator Brooke, for example, made major news when he supported the Administration's position in Vietnam, and Dr. King attracted widespread attention when he opposed it.

Except for civil rights, seldom if ever in the nation's history have Negro views been so eagerly sought and disseminated on a major national issue. And if the war is proving that the nation can listen to the Negro on national issues, it is equally as much demonstrating that the Negro is losing his traditional reticence on public issues other than civil rights.

Such headline-making names as King, Bunche, Brooke, Carmichael, McKissick, Wilkins and the Rev. James Bevel—the civil rights activist who has become a fulltime critic of the war—show that clearly,

Carmichael On Campus

ATLANTA — After Stokely Carmichael became the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee almost a year ago, he embarked on a program to win a following for the organization's new "black power-black consciousness" philosophy.

He and the organization's field secretaries tried first in rural areas, but ran into opposition from Negroes who decided such black power slogans as "move on over or we'll move on over you" caused more trouble with whites than they solved. The student committee tried, too, to stir up interest in big-city ghettos. But there, its policy of opposing the presence of white social workers stirred the animosity of Negroes who had received tangible assistance from the workers and liked them for it.

But in recent months he and his organization have been devoting increasing attention to Negro college campuses. And they are meeting with more success.

At Tougaloo College on the outskirts of Jackson, Miss., last week, Mr. Carmichael lashed out against the war in Vietnam and had approximately 700 students shouting "Hell no, we won't go," in a chant

that lasted for a full 10 minutes.

A few days before, after he appeared in Nashville, Tenn., students at predominantly Negro Fisk and Tennessee A. & L. (Agricultural and Industrial) Universities rioted in the streets, hurled rocks and stones, and occasionally tossed Molotov cocktails and took pot shots at police cars.

Whether or not Mr. Carmichael's presence had anything to do with the riot is a matter of sharp debate in Nashville, but Mr. Carmichael seemed to draw satisfaction from the fact that students shouted "black power" while rioting.

A 'Rebellion'

Furthermore, in his speech at Tougaloo, he called the riot a rebellion and said Negroes need not apologize for rebelling at injustices imposed upon them by whites. After all the United States would still be a colony if it had not rebelled from Britain; and if Negro ghettos want to free themselves from "colonial domination" by whites, they may have to use violence as a tactic.

Just how much support this sort of talk is gaining the black power movement on college campuses is, of course, a matter of some conjecture. As might be expected, Mr. Carmichael has his share of campus opponents.

But Mr. Carmichael has supporters at Miles as well as at such colleges as Fisk and Tougaloo. And

at the campus book store at Alabama's Tuskegee Institute, two of the best sellers are black power "bibles" — Malcolm X's autobiography and Frantz Fanon's "Wretched of the Earth."

What's the secret of Mr. Carmichael's campus appeal?

For one thing, many students admire his audacity. He drew more than a few chuckles recently when he walked into a Federal court in Selma, Ala., wearing sunglasses and a flowing Nigerian "agbada" robe.

Jokes About Sex

And he provoked gales of campus laughter with his frank discussions of "inter-racial sex." To a white man who said if Negroes want to marry his daughter, Mr. Carmichael says, student committee workers never shooed it off and run the risk of seeming inferior by saying, "We don't want to be your brother-in-law, we just want to be your brother."

"We tell 'em: Your daughter, your sister, your mamma," Mr. Carmichael says. "The white woman's not the queen of the world. She can be made, just like anything else. Let's move on to something important."

Some students also admire Mr. Carmichael's violent militance. He calls white people "honkies," for example, and says that non-violence strips the Negro male of his manhood. One way, he suggests, for Southern Negroes to regain their manhood is to strike back at whites when whites strike at them.

Theory of Guilt

There are obviously other answers to Mr. Carmichael's appeal and many of his campus speeches have left college professors searching for them. Some professors, in their more philosophical moments, have suggested that many Negro students feel guilty about attending college and enjoying middle-class advantages while millions of their kinsmen are below the poverty level. Mr. Carmichael, the theory goes, offers them a way to help: Inspire the Negro masses to stand up for themselves by being truculent and not letting the white man push you around.

Whether Mr. Carmichael is right or wrong about this keeps many students up past midnight in debate. Meanwhile, Mr. Carmichael seems certain to go on providing more grist for these arguments.

"I'm denied power by honkies," Mr. Carmichael said, "and I'm going to keep on going until I get that power back."



Martin Luther King Jr. from Nancy Palmer
CRITIC: By raising a cry against U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Martin Luther King has come under attack by other Negro leaders who accuse him of thereby alienating white support for civil rights.



United Press International

AGITATOR: Accused of fomenting violence with his cries of "black power," Stokely Carmichael says Negroes may have no other recourse against "injustices imposed upon them by whites."

Letters E13

to the Editor of The Times

Dr. King's Place in Civil-Rights Tradition

To the Editor:

Dr. Martin Luther King's argument that the war in Vietnam has precluded meaningful attempts to cope with poverty and discrimination at home may or may not be correct. His conclusion that, as a civil-rights leader, he must therefore oppose that war may or may not be wise. But the implication made by many of his critics that, as a civil-rights leader, Dr. King departs radically from precedent in speaking out against American foreign policy, cannot bear historical examination.

The fact is, though some seem to have forgotten it, that many of the initial leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were men who devoted much of their public careers openly to attacking American foreign policy. The first president of the association, Moorfield Storey, assumed that office already known as a persistent critic of the American acquisition of the Philippines.

While serving as president between 1910 and 1929, Storey continued his anti-imperialism, publicly condemning American interventions in the Dominican Republic, in Haiti, and in Nicaragua.

No Criticism of Leaders

Oswald Garrison Villard, the first treasurer of the association, was one of the staunchest critics of the Treaty of Versailles and remained an opponent of "foreign entanglements" throughout his life. Though the situation of the Negro American was even more perilous then than now, neither Storey nor Villard was, to the best of my knowledge, attacked for speaking out on foreign-policy issues while serving with the association, nor was it suggested that their positions somehow hurt the cause of civil rights.

Neither Storey nor Villard, it is true, involved the association in their foreign-policy statements: Villard spoke from his position as editor of The Nation, Storey as a private citizen.

But it has also been forgotten that the precedent of a civil-rights organization, as an organization, criticizing American foreign policy, was set not by Stokely Carmichael and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, let alone by Dr. King, but by the N.A.A.C.P. through its executive secretary, James Weldon Johnson, in connection with the American occupation of Haiti. The intervention in Haiti and the intervention in Vietnam may be different in intent, but surely they are equally "foreign policy"—as distinguished from "civil-rights"—issues.

Whatever the merits of Dr. King's position, in short, he stands in a solid historical tradition when, as a civil-rights leader, he speaks out against American foreign policy.

WILLIAM B. HIXON JR.
Instructor in History
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Mich.

April 10, 1967

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Dr. King's Dilemma as a Public Fact

By Michael Harrington

Author of "The Other America" and other books

THE PROPHET has moved out of the back of the bus. Martin Luther King Jr. has taken a militant stand on Vietnam instead of confining himself to the race issue. He is being, quite a few editorialists seem to say, an apolly Jeremiah.

King obviously could not take the advice to segregate his moral principles to one question. And yet in joining the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, the Nobel peace laureate involved himself in a cruel paradox. The man who, more than anyone in his generation, had demonstrated the practical power of morality, suddenly found himself torn by the conflicting claims of politics and ethics.

I take his personal dilemma as a public fact, a point of departure for understanding the crisis of the peace and civil rights movements, the alienation of the young activists and the way in which a tragic conflict in Southeast Asia corrupts our domestic hope.

An Inelastic Principle

I AM SURE that King did not have a moment's hesitation in deciding to oppose the war. He had taught Southern Negroes to love the racists who reviled and beat them and there were those who died in practicing his non-violent resistance to unjust laws. It is preposterous to think that such a man could possibly support the Administration's Vietnam policy. His pacifist principles could hardly stop at the water's edge.

Secondly, King rightly argues that the current retreat from issues like poverty and race is, in part, a consequence of the war. It is not just that one year's appropriation for Vietnam could more than raise the income of every citizen above the poverty line.

that two years of war funds would pay for the housing program which Sen. Bibleoff has projected over a decade.

In terms of economic quantities, this Nation is rich enough to have both guns and butter. But a society which listens to a body count every night before dinner is hardly being prepared for the politics of compassion, either domestically or internationally.

If this logical convergence of the peace and civil rights problems extended to politics, King would have no problems. But, of course, it doesn't.

A great many Americans felt that a Jim Crow law was such an obvious and immediate abomination that it should be flouted. A much smaller number applies this rationale of civil disobedience to opposition to the Government's position on Vietnam. Thus King's radical anti-war stance will lose him the support of some of those who approved heartily of his radical anti-racism. It will even isolate him from some of the proposals of the senatorial doves. It was this potential contraction of the civil rights base that so alarmed the NAACP and led it to condemn his march yesterday.

A Numerical Problem

IRONICALLY, these complexities emerged at the very moment when the civil rights movement desperately needed allies. King himself had failed in his Chicago open housing campaign of 1966 and his defeat was symptomatic.

Where a lunchroom can be integrated by a courageous handful, the abolition of the ghetto requires that Congress make massive investments in the name of the entire Nation. This means that the 10 per cent Negro minority has to round up every possible vote; that there will be fewer dramatic confrontations and more politics. Some of the

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militants, who found it easier to face death in Mississippi than compromise in Washington, responded to this new situation by moving from civil rights to peace.

Had King been able to satisfy his convictions simply by seconding the senatorial doves, the decision would have cost him little. But the courageous proponent of nonviolent civil disobedience could not content himself with such an impersonal, uncommitted gesture.

His philosophy and his history drove him toward the radical wing of the peace movement, where he found friends more difficult to deal with than many of his critics. The overwhelming majority of peace marchers are people who have been appalled by America's conduct in Vietnam and seek an end to the tragedy by any possible means. But there is a smaller, extremely active group with a much more complex motivation.

Perhaps the best way to describe these people is that they are not at all like the Communists of the '30s. In those bad old days there was often a problem when a core of members in an American organization would act in response to the twists and turns of Russian politics. Their attitude on Franklin Roosevelt, say, would depend on Joseph Stalin's relations with Adolf Hitler.

The young hyperactivists one meets in the peace movement today are not acting out this pattern at all. They are not the puppets of Ho Chi Minh or any other foreigner. Their basic emotion is one of domestic alienation rather than of international solidarity, and it is their passionate feeling about their native land that determines their attitude toward Hanoi, not the other way around.

The Heartsick

THE PEOPLE of whom I write include Negro militants—SNCC veterans, black nationalists and others—who have become disillusioned with the nonviolence of King and made heartsick by the token progress purchased by terrible sacrifice. They are middle-class college students who once naively believed in the liberal rhetoric that be-

sets this country from all sides except the extreme right and who reacted with a bitter fury when they glimpsed the illiberal reality.

It is these people who give the present radical anti-war movement its distinctive quality. When they launch official slogans analogizing the Vietcong to Washington's army in 1776, when they speak of "self-determination" but effectively restrict the notion to South Vietnam and fail to extend it to the North, even when they fly Vietcong flags, as a minority among them do, they are not conspirators or infiltrators.

Rather, they are expressing the anger they feel about the United States. This attitude certainly allows for individual purgation but, and this is a problem for King, it has little to do with effective political action. Perhaps the Negro leader can infuse this movement with the spirit of practical prophecy that he summoned upon from Montgomery to Selma. And perhaps not.

An Impossible Choice

FINALLY, Dr. King has made his share of tactical errors (like the implied equation of the American military with the Vietcong), and yet in the last analysis, I cannot help but be sympathetic with him. He has been forced to an impossible choice. It is difficult and politically dangerous for him to speak out; it would be an act of moral cowardice to remain silent. The resultant, and tormenting, personal dilemma is but one more cost of the tragic war.

During the Eisenhower '50s when America was so often uncritically celebrated, the spokesmen for the Nation's conscience were often black men, and Martin Luther King was a leader among them. Eventually, this Negro minority probably did more for the whites than they did for themselves, for it was the freedom movement that awakened the campus, challenged the churches to a new ecumenicism and prepared the way for that generation which was to answer John F. Kennedy's call to action.

Now, in the agony of Vietnam, America is forgetting that social conscience, so recently acquired. There are even some trying to drive the prophet to the back of the bus.



A great many Americans felt that a Jim Crow law was such an obvious and immediate abomination that it should be flouted. A much smaller number applied this rationale of civil disobedience to opposition to the Government's position on Vietnam."

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~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE
~~TOP SECRET~~

- 1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. R.E. Wick
 - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
 - 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
 - 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells
- April 19, 1967

12-10-79
CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803 RDD/ELM
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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
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DATE 12-14-79

Classified by 1080 Pdl/TMP
Exempt from GDS Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 12/2/77

Mrs. Mildred Stegall
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

As you know, Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was the principal speaker at the mass anti-war demonstration which took place in New York City on April 15, 1967.

I thought the President and Mr. Watson would be interested in the fact that certain portions of the speech which King made on that occasion were verbatim with portions furnished him by his close advisor, Stanley Levison, and constitute an attack on the United States' present foreign policy in Vietnam in a way which clearly duplicates the communist line on this issue. This is not surprising because Levison is a concealed communist and King knows it.

Based on King's recent activities and public utterances, it is clear that he is an instrument in the hands of subversive forces seeking to undermine our Nation.

By letter dated April 10, 1967, I furnished you with a comprehensive document entitled "Communist Influence in Racial Matters - A Current Analysis," which set forth in specific detail the manner in which these subversive elements, including Stanley Levison, have channeled King's activities into support of communist objectives.

✓ 6 APR 20 1967

[REDACTED]

- DeLoach
- Wick
- Sullivan
- Brennan
- Wells
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

100-106679
1 - 105-438794
(Southern Christian
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Delivered to Mildred Stegall
on 4-19-67

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Mrs. Mildred Stegall

[REDACTED] b(1)

A rereading of the document makes it possible to understand more readily why Martin Luther King, Jr., in a previous speech condemned the United States as "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today," and why he willingly played a key role in the anti-war rally on April 15, 1967, where such Government leaders as the President, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara were viciously attacked as "buffoons," "fools," and "racists."

A copy of the speech made by King at the peace demonstration on April 15, 1967, is attached for your information.

You will recall that we sent the Attorney General a copy of the same document mentioned above; however, he is not being furnished a copy of this communication.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

NOTE:

See C.D. Brennan to Sullivan memorandum dated 4/15/67 captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter - C," prepared by BHW:dm.

Classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" inasmuch as this letter makes reference to and quotes selected portions of a "Top Secret" document.

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[Signature]

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C. V. B. A.

28 March 1967

MARTIN LUTHER KING OPPOSES WAR IN VIETNAM

Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 27 March 1967--P

(Gonzalez commentary)

(Excerpt) The Yankee government generally withholds the truth from the American people, but the news issued the past several days by the American high command includes record casualty figures, big battles without American victories, and increasing danger for the invader. They cannot always conceal the truth. In this case, to reveal part of the truth may be a ploy by the military clique to justify monstrous new escalation.

However, it is noteworthy that this method of resorting to sowing terror among the American people is failing. In the last few hours there has been a succession of big demonstrations in the United States against the war in Vietnam. It is symptomatic that for the first time a moderate like Rev. Martin Luther King, integration leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner, publicly branded the war in Vietnam as "blasphemy of everything the United States stands for."

12-10-79

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C.D. Brennan file
S. E. Doherty

Foreign Broadcast Information
Service Daily Report
March 28, 1967/22-106670
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51 APR 25 1967

18 APR 21 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. R.E. W. [redacted]
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan

DATE: 4/13/67

FROM : C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

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Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a letterhead memorandum containing the following:

(b)(2)(b)(7)(D) [redacted] advised that Stanley Levison, a long-time secret Communist Party member, and Harry Wachtel, who has a history of membership in a communist front, were in conference recently concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They decided to take steps to gain support for King's stand on Vietnam by having a pamphlet printed and running a full-page ad in "The New York Times" on April 16, 1967.

When King joined the conference, Levison and Wachtel urged King to seek an audience with the Pope and to begin by corresponding with him.

Levison told King to deny he advocated a merger of civil rights and peace movement in his press conference in Los Angeles on 4/12/67.

King subsequently spoke out at this press conference along the lines outlined by Levison.

Wachtel remarked to Levison that King will meet with Rockefeller on April 22 or 24, 1967.

Source was of the opinion that Rockefeller referred to by Wachtel was Nelson Rockefeller, Governor New York.

RECOMMENDATION:

EX-108

REC-21

100-106670-280

10 APR 19 1967

That the copies of the enclosures be forwarded by routing slips to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, The White House; The Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; the Honorable Richard Helms, the Central Intelligence Agency; the Attorney General; and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Doar. Classified by 6081 LST/TAP

Exempt from GDS, Category 2
100-106670 Date of Declassification Indefinite
Enclosures 2
1 - 100-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)
DMW:eco (7) [redacted]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

April 14, 1967

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past. *u*

Stanley Levison and Harry Wachtel, advisors to Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, were in conference recently. Wachtel thought the text of King's anti-Vietnam War speech delivered at Riverside Church, New York, New York, on April 4, 1967, was good and wanted it printed for distribution. Levison felt the speech was too advanced for many Negroes and that it did not have wide appeal. However, it was decided to issue a question and answer type pamphlet to the public entitled "Dr. King Speaks on the War in Vietnam." It was also agreed that a full-page advertisement would be run in "The New York Times" on April 16, 1967, defending King's stand on Vietnam.

Later, Martin Luther King, Jr., joined these two individuals in this conference. At that time Wachtel and Levison urged King to contemplate seeking an audience with the Pope. Toward this end, Levison urged King to begin corresponding with the Pope.

Levison then advised King to state in his press conference in Los Angeles, California, on April 12, 1967, that the allegation by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claiming King advocated the fusion of the civil rights and the peace movement was untrue.

King subsequently held a press conference in Los Angeles on April 12, 1967, and spoke out along the lines outlined for him by Levison.

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4-14-87

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CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803 RDD/Edm
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DATE OF REVIEW 4-14-87

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Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 7/20/77
DECLASSIFIED BY RDD/IMP
ON 3-17-81

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downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-106670-2894

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Wachtel mentioned that King will meet with Rockefeller on April 22 or 24, 1967, to discuss King's position on Vietnam. The source advised he believed the Rockefeller referred to by Wachtel was Nelson Rockefeller, Governor, New York. *S*

It should be noted that previously Levison mentioned to an associate that King will also disclose his views on South America to Rockefeller when they meet since King feels South America has the potential of becoming the next Vietnam. *S*

Stanley Levison is a long-time communist whose secret membership in the Communist Party, USA, was established as of July, 1963. Harry Wachtel is a former member of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization which has been designated as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives. *S*

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TELETYPE UNIT
APR 12 1967
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Wick ☒
Mr. Casper ☒
Mr. Callahan ☒
Mr. Conrad ☒
Mr. Felt ☒
Mr. Gale ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel ☒
Mr. Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Miss Holmes ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

WASH DC --X

URGENT 11-02 AM 4-12-67 NJZ

TO DIRECTOR (100-106670) AND ATLANTA (100-5586)

ATLANTA VIA WASHINGTON
FROM LOS ANGELES (100-57229)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM-C. OO ATLANTA.

RE NEW YORK TEL, APRIL ELEVEN, LAST, CAPTIONED
COMINFIL, SCLC; LOS ANGELES AIRTEL, APRIL THREE, LAST,
CAPTIONED MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

b7(D) [REDACTED] TODAY STATED
KING ARRIVED LOS ANGELES EIGHT THIRTY FIVE PM, APRIL ELEVEN,
LAST. HE DID NOT STAY AT HYATT HOUSE AS PLANNED ALTHOUGH
RESERVATIONS REMAIN OUTSTANDING.

b7(D) [REDACTED] TODAY ADVISED KING HELD
PRESS CONFERENCE NINE THIRTY AM CONFERENCE ROOM NUMBER SEVEN,
BILTMORE HOTEL, APRIL TWELVE, INSTANT, WHERE HE ATTACKED NAACP.
END PAGE ONE

REC-3

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MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

PAGE TWO

LA 100-57229

[REDACTED] STATED LOCAL PRESS GIVING KING COMPLETE COVERAGE NOT ONLY FOR HIS COMMENTS ON WAR IN VIETNAM BUT THEY FEEL A DISGRUNTLED FORMER FOLLOWER MAY CAUSE HIM HARM.

b7(D) [REDACTED] STATED KING WILL ADDRESS STUDENT GATHERING OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE, LOS ANGELES, ELEVEN AM, APRIL TWELVE, INSTANT. [REDACTED] COVERAGE CONTINUING.

AIRTEL AND LHM FOLLOWS.

NEW YORK ADVISED AM.

END

MAL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

APR 13 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI LOS ANG.

1021PM URGENT 4-12-67 SMZ

TO DIRECTOR & ATLANTA (100-5586)

FROM LOS ANGELES (100-57229)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. SM-C. OO: AT.

RE NEW YORK TEL APRIL TWELVE INSTANT CAPTIONED COMINFIL
SCLC, IS-C AND LA TEL APRIL TWELVE INSTANT CAPTIONED AS
ABOVE.

b7(D) [REDACTED] ADVISED KING SPOKE BEFORE
OVERFLOW CROWD OF THIRTEEN HUNDRED STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS AT
ELEVEN AM APRIL TWELVE AT THORNE HALL, OCCIDENTIAL COLLEGE,
LOS ANGELES. HIS SPEECH CONCERNED NEGRO INTEGRATION AND HE
SUGGESTED A MASSIVE INTEGRATION PROGRAM IN THE US. HE TOLD OF
NEED FOR A GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME AND FAVORED ADOPTION OF
A NATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS FOR ALL NEGROES. HE TERMED VIETNAM
WAR NEEDLESS WASTE OF TIME AND MONEY.

FOLLOWING FORMAL SPEECH KING AGAIN FACED NEWSMEN AT
IMPROMPTU NEWS CONFERENCE WHERE HE REFERRED TO INEQUITIES IN
END PAGE ONE

51 APR 24 1967

10 APR 17 1967

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PAGE TWO

THE DRAFT FOR NEGROES AND MORE NEGRO SOLDIERS WERE DYING IN VIETNAM THAN CAUCASIANS.

b7(D) [REDACTED] OBTAINED PREPARED STATEMENT WHICH KING HAD PREVIOUSLY READ TO NEWSMEN AT NINE THIRTY AM THIS MORNING DURING PRESS CONFERENCE BILTMORE HOTEL. STATEMENT RESEMBLES THAT WHICH WAS BRIEFLY SET FORTH IN NEW YORK TELETYPE. THIS STATEMENT AND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS WILL BE SET FORTH IN AIRTEL AND LHM WHICH FOLLOWS.

END

HFL

FBI WASH DC

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REC'D TELETYPE UNIT